

FBIS

DAILY REPORT

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SIXTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM OPENS 27 NOV

LD271120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] The Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum began in Warsaw at 1000. Chaired by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the plenum will discuss the party's tasks in overcoming the crisis and implementing the economic reform and the central socioeconomic plan for next year.

Opening the session, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that today's plenum will be accompanied by hopes that its results will create good preconditions for eliminating numerous difficulties which are embittering working people. The discussion on the provisions of the socioeconomic plan for next year must be accompanied by an awareness that these provisions will be implemented in conditions that are more difficult than ever before. At the same time, Wojciech Jaruzelski drew attention to the fact that the implementation of the economic reform and the functioning of the statutes on enterprises and on self-management of enterprise workforces should help to facilitate processes connected with resolving the crisis. Wojciech Jaruzelski also stressed that in the present conditions it is evident that economic matters and political matters, including interparty issues, are closely linked.

GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY MKR TALKS RESUME IN RADOM

LD252236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] In Radom the talks which were suspended on 13 November were resumed today between the government commission and the NSZZ Solidarity negotiating team of Radom region.

The government side is led by Tadeusz Kulikowski, the director of the Department of Investments in the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, and the Solidarity negotiating group is led by Stanislaw Wadolowski.

The first topic of negotiations concerns implementation of the contents of the poststrike agreements concluded between the Interfactory Workers' Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Radom region and the Radom voivoda last November.

A mixed working group has been formed to work out a joint stance regarding this demand.

Talks in Progress

LD252312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Andrzej Madrzycki report from Radom]

[Text] In Radom, talks are in progress with the Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR] NSZZ Solidarity, Radom Voivodship. In the afternoon, Professor Romuald Kukulowicz, delegate of the primate to the National Commission [KK] Solidarity, arrived in the Chief Technical Organization [NOT] club where the talks are being held. The talks at present are dealing with legal aspects pertaining to the investigation carried out by the Radom Voivodship prosecutor. Both sides have adopted a number of joint entries. The most important one pertains to the reexamination of controversial issues connected with the improper, in the opinion of Solidarity, interventions of the Citizens' Militia employees. This followed the MKR having submitted evidence in its possession.

Meanwhile the strikers in the Higher School of Engineering, members of Solidarity and the Independent Students Association who have been on strike for 4 weeks, met this evening with Bishop Edward Materski, ordinary of the Sandomierz Diocese, and Stanislaw Wadolowski, deputy chairman of the KK of NSZZ Solidarity.

Tomorrow, a delegation of the strikers and representatives of the Polish Teachers Union-Science from the Radom Higher School of Engineering will go to Warsaw where, on the initiative of the chairman of the Council of Science, Higher Education and Technology, Jan Szczepanski, more talks will be held concerning the solution of the conflict in Radom higher learning establishments.

Talks Reach Stalemate

LD061314 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Talks between the government commission and Radom Solidarity ended in the early hours of this morning. Unfortunately, another serious stalemate in the negotiations has arisen. After giving replies to all the demands submitted by Solidarity and after having presented concrete proposals on their implementation, members of the government commission left Radom. A meeting of the Radom region Interfactory Workers Committee of NSZZ Solidarity was held last night. The protest strike due today (?in some) work enterprises has been called off.

This morning, representatives of the Solidarity negotiating team left to see Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Commission, to inform him of the situation which has arisen following the latest round of talks with the government commission.

Government Team Leaves

LD262006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] The round of talks in Radom between the government commission led by Tadeusz Kulikowski, director of the Department of Investment in the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection and a negotiating group of the NSZZ Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR] of Radom region led by MKR Chairman Andrzej Szbieraj, lasted only 1 day.

This stage of the talks was attended by Stanislaw Wadolowski, vice chairman of the Solidarity National Commission; and Prof Romauld Kukulowicz, delegate of the Polish primate to the Solidarity National Commission. The talks ended last night because of an impasse which emerged during the discussion over the demand related to the handing over of newly erected buildings of the Citizens' Militia voivodship headquarters. The government side presented its own stance on this issue. Among other things, it has been learned that the government commission adopted a businesslike and unequivocal stance on all the submitted demands. The government commission presented concrete proposals on all matters that can be solved positively, with regard to their implementation. The state authorities will continue to deal with the issues that have emerged during the talks in line with a justified interest of the Radom community in conformity with the precepts of justice and right.

The government commission has discharged its tasks and its members have left Radom. The Solidarity negotiating team has in turn issued a statement saying that such an attitude on the government side is tantamount to a universal severance of talks. This was followed by an extraordinary meeting of the Presidium of MKR Solidarity of Radom region. The adopted resolution suspends the protest action in selected departments of production enterprises.

The delegation of the Radom Solidarity negotiating team left this morning to see Lech Walesa in order to discuss the current situation.

Government Approval

LD270000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] In connection with the completion of the work by the interministerial commission, which conducted talks with the negotiating team of the Radom region NSZZ Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR], the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs has stated its approval of the commission's position conveyed to the MKR negotiators. This position meets halfway all the justified demands within the framework of valid laws which were put forward by the negotiating team. This position also contains an expression and indication of understanding for the particularly difficult situation of the Radom Voivodship regarding health care, housing and matters pertaining to social structure as well as conditions of its citizens' everyday existence. The negotiations include an all-round review of investment requirements during 1981-85.

The commission did not reject Solidarity's conjectures that the action taken by law and order forces during incidents which took place on 25 June 1976 might have infringed on public order regulations. In this connection the representative of the General Public Prosecutor's Office has declared his readiness to examine any material in Solidarity's possession and to begin penal proceedings that might be justified by the evidence submitted.

The interministerial commission has recognized as justified the award of financial compensation to employees who have been dismissed from work or otherwise adversely affected in connection with participation in the strike on 26 June 1976.

The commission pointed out the fundamental revision of the political assessment of the events in Radom in 1976, contained in official PZPR documents. The construction of further projects for the voivodship command of the Citizens' Militia has been stopped. The proposal put forward by the commission and the voivodship authorities for a future use of the building, one different from the original purpose and relevant to the real needs of the population, has not been accepted by the MKR.

In the course of negotiations which lasted several months the government commission sought to achieve an understanding. In view of the fact that the interministerial commission has adopted a stance on all the demands submitted by Solidarity, it should be recognized that the commission has fulfilled the tasks which had been set for it.

GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY KK TALKS RESUME 26 NOV

LD261320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Talks between the teams from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the Presidium of the Solidarity National Commission resumed before noon today after a break of several days. The teams are headed by Jerzy Bafia and Grzegorz Palka. Among other things, the union concept of the social council for national economy is being discussed.

Talks Continue

LD262254 Warsaw Domestic Service, in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Talks are continuing at the office of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw between negotiating teams of the government and Solidarity; among other things, they are devoted to the union's concept of a social council for national economy. The talks are conducted by teams, each consisting of several members. The government's side is led by Prof Jerzy Bafia and the Solidarity side is led by Grzegorz Palka.

After the agenda had been agreed in outline, Solidarity negotiators answered questions and doubts of the government submitted in the preceding round of talks and concerning the role, function and manner of setting up the social council. The questions which were now raised included one which ranked among the most important and read: In the event of the council having been set up and having pronounced in favor of a given decision of the government, would Solidarity abandon organizing strikes as an expression of opposition to such a decision? The answer to this question has not yet been given.

Professor Bafia expressed his opinion that the material submitted by Solidarity with regard to the social council for national economy is not specific enough. He proposed that further talks on the subject, that is, the proposals submitted by Solidarity, should take place after the government's side has presented its concept of the so-called mixed commission. The government side suggested, in addition, that the negotiating team of Solidarity should examine the possibility of combining the concepts of both sides and of elaborating a third solution on the basis of the two concepts.

Government on Mixed Commission

LD262256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] In the afternoon session of today's talks between negotiating teams of the government and Solidarity, the government presented a general outline of its concept of setting up a government-union mixed commission. In its most general form this would be a forum for determining and agreeing on all the most important problems affecting working people.

After a series of questions and answers, the first round of talks was completed on the subject of the union concept of a social council for the national economy and the government proposal concerning the setting up of a mixed commission. The teams have moved on to discussing matter concerning union control over the production and distribution of rationed goods and concerning the operation of the rationing system. The talks are continuing.

Bafia, Palka Comment on Talks

LD270128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Excerpts] In the afternoon part of today's talks between the negotiating teams of the government and Solidarity, the government presented a general outline of its concept of setting up a government-union mixed commission. Here are extensive excerpts from the statements made after today's talks to journalists by Prof Jerzy Bafia, chairman of the government team, and Grzegorz Palka for Solidarity.

[Begin recording] [Bafia] We discussed matters in great detail. There were a number of questions making it possible to define more accurately [word indistinct] proposals. These were, let us say, questions regarding the way of forming this body and above all, its basic functions. I stressed, furthermore, the fact that the existence of such a mixed commission would be a factor streamlining these government-union contacts. [words indistinct] In conclusion we stressed that such a mixed commission would to all intents and purposes create a foundation for going over to a higher stage of negotiations with the trade union and that this would be a sort of direct method of dealing with all trade unions and of obtaining agreements and thereby pushing forward various kinds of matters.

I would like to return to the matter of assessing the constructive nature of the meeting. The talks were very useful in that they made it possible to extract everything which was unclear in the draft of the social council for the national economy and all problems which one might expect while this organ is being formed. This also makes it possible at present to prepare such specific drafts (?for) the social council and also for the mixed commission. We shall make the next meeting dependent on the submission and preparation of these proposals.

[Palka] I will sum up: Three subjects were discussed today basically -- the social council of the national economy, the mixed commission and the matter of union control. In this first matter we clarified questions which were asked at the previous meeting. We hoped that after this stage of clarification we would be able to obtain a clear stance by the government side as to whether it accepts this social council as an independent force. However, it turned out that this was impossible because, as the government side put it, of too few specifics. Nevertheless, we both accepted that we would continue to work on this problem. (?This is) optimistic. In any case, I think that the bulk of these clarifications were received positively.

As regards the detailed subject of the union abandoning certain rights in favor of the council, we do not see the possibility of formally renouncing any rights although it is obvious that if the union appoints a social council which contains trusted persons from this union, then the union will not see the need for reviewing problems settled by the council and will act in a way to explain the settlements which the social council of the economy makes to its members.

Regarding the matter of the mixed commission, we listened attentively to the government proposal. This is a draft which is general to a great extent. We think that a procedure of democratically settling things by a majority vote would make this commission much more effective, which is what we told the government. However, we did not adopt a stance regarding the value of this proposal because of this great level of generality.

As for union control, we agreed on the following point. [Sentence indistinct] On 26 November of this year during the meeting it was agreed that in cases when regional boards of NSZZ Solidarity have difficulty in gaining from voivodas rights to union control over the purchasing of produce and distribution of foodstuffs and other rationed goods, then the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission will signal these matters to Minister Stanislaw Ciosek for him to deal with.

[Bafia] I think we have overlooked another matter which would be worth noting, namely that there was presented, or rather that the matter was examined, of whether it would be possible to find some sort of common denominator -- not so much a common denominator -- for the council and for the commission -- yes. In other words is a certain marriage between these two proposals possible? This is simply a subject which is only meant for reflection -- this is not a proposal of either side, neither by the union or the government. But statements were made that in many points these proposals coincide, particularly in connection with the fact that some changes have taken place in the proposal of the social council of the national economy when one looks at the first versions. In particular, it was stressed that this draft no longer mentions a veto as regards government decisions and resolutions and so on which the social council might adopt. This would be a kind of interference in the functioning of executive bodies by the union which is not a possible form in the constitutional system of our country. [end recording]

COMMENTARIES ON THE RECENT KURON-CLUB INCIDENT

Press Denounces 'Party'

LD252120 Warsaw PAP in English 1421 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- Polish dailies today denounced the "founding declaration" of a new "political party" concept cherished by Kuron and associates as an anti-socialist and anti-Soviet scheme designed to set up counter-power, divide Poland, pit part of the citizens against the constitutional order and sever Poland from her international alliances.

The Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, in a commentary headlined "KOR's New Skin," said that the so-called self-dissolution of the KOR some time ago was designed "as a smokescreen" for subversive politicians "crouching for a leap into a different kind of political action."

The bid to set up so-called "Clubs of Self-Governed Republic-Freedom, Justice, Independence" is timed to counter a worker trend in the Solidarnosc labour union and a fairly close social-Christian trend which "have begun to heed the voice of reason and lean towards talks with the authorities in search of positive solutions".

It comes at a time when a constructive Walesa-led worker trend within Solidarnosc has vexed the extremists to the point of causing a rift within the union's leadership, said the daily.

The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU listed names of Solidarnosc regional chapter extremists who have jumped on the Kuron bandwagon. In a half-page article entitled "Open Drive Against Constitutional Order," the party daily, quoting excerpts from the clubs' "founding declaration", wrote that the "declaration's" phraseology about an ostensible interest in social unity "is a cover for the KOR leaders' obvious concept that only a confrontation with the authorities and an anti-socialist politicization of Solidarnosc can be the basis of such 'unity'".

The aim of that "unity concept" is "subordination of all 'self-government movements'" to the anti-socialist opposition, the daily said.

"This is an obvious gamble practiced against the government and the interests of the state... hitting out at the constitutional order, our alliances and international obligations, and thus our security and inviolability of our national frontiers...also through an internal destabilization of Poland, a weighty factor of the Warsaw Treaty and the European balance," wrote TRYBUNA LUDU.

At one point, the daily pointed to the moves made by the Kuron-led oppositionists to enlist for their cause also "conservative, nationalist, or even revanchist circles in the FRG".

It also spotlighted that part of the "founding declaration" which glorifies the postwar fratricidal struggle in Poland in which over 30,000 Poles died on both sides of the barricades.

"The oppositionists do not hide that there is no room in their programmes for socialism, People's Poland, the millions of members of the PUP and the allied political parties, for the branch and other trade unions, for the social organizations abiding by the Constitution, for a front of national conciliation...for ways out of the crisis and solutions concerning a dramatic food market," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote on.

"All they are concerned with is a cool and calculated fight for power, and they are prepared to undo to this end what the country and the nation need most of all -- patriotic unity and conciliation, elimination of confrontation and hotbeds of conflicts."

"This is an egoistic and essentially anti-national posture."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI added that the oppositionists "do not want a communist government led by Prime Minister Jaruzelski in any form".

Referring to the oppositionists' invoking a variety of past traditions of the KOR, the prewar Pilsudski movement, the prewar Polish socialists-right wing, the peasant movement and even the encyclical of John Paul II, it said that they "dangle a variety of baits" to fish in various milieus, to win over various ideological groups and especially the unsuspecting youth.

"Their aim is to destroy the people's state and the socialist system," the daily reiterated.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Attacks Club

LD250030 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 81

["Reincarnation of KOR" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- Jacek Kuron, leader of the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR], is creating an organization called "Clubs of the Self-Governing Republic -- Freedom, Justice, Independence," says Wieslaw Rogowski in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. The author reminds us that at the second Solidarity congress, KOR became part of this trade union and was then dissolved.

What do the founders of the new organization want? Its very name contains propaganda catchwords. The point above all is that (?Solidarity) is already outdated in the sense that spontaneity must make way for political reflection, and for this it is necessary to create an ideological-political organization -- this means not a trade union but a political party.

As regards its concepts, this should be a mass party -- and its founders do not hide this since achieving one's ends (?means) in their view that the road toward the independence of Poland leads exclusively through the activities of the whole nation. This is why they are counting on influence among the masses. The road of evolutionary fundamental decisions in governing collective life -- decisions which stem from talks between the National Commission and the government -- does not suit them one bit. They reject the possibility of leading the country out of the social and economic crisis along this road. They do not want the PZPR to exist and reject the road of strengthening state authority, even if it is supervised by Solidarity. The concept of national agreement, even if it were to lead to the creation of a coalition government based on a broader social basis does not suit them.

They consider that the possible improvement in the situation is not enough and is dangerous. Improving living conditions and the systems of government and eliminating the new fundamental threats to the existence of Poles would indeed be dangerous, because social calm would make the political struggle for power and for changing the system in Poland impossible.

The paper says that the aim of Jacek Kuron's party is to destroy the people's state and the socialist system, to tear Poland away from her allies and to take it out of socialist political and military alliances. Consequently this is a program of a party of an anti-socialist nature aimed against communists and patriots cooperating with them, believers and nonbelievers, against calm in the country and against improving socialist Poland, concludes W. Rogowski.

TV Commentary

LD262200 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Commentary by Assistant Professor Marian Malinowski]

[Text] In the last 2 days we have all been upset by the news conveyed in the press and by the radio on the subject of the unsuccessful founding meeting of a new, opposition and counterrevolutionary party created in its new version by the former creators of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] led by Kuron.

As a historian, after I had an opportunity to acquaint myself with the platform and the declaration of this aborted organization, I can see a certain link between the matters of the past, of the early postwar years -- and even going back to the days of the occupation -- and the present times. Besides, the authors of this declaration have placed themselves in this genealogy by their own words when they state clearly that they are seeking a link with those forces which fought with arms against people's power after it had been established and wish to continue their cause.

Neither do they hide the fact that they are simply aiming at changing the system in Poland, that they are dreaming of a new edition of the Poland of the bourgeoisie and landowners. Another organization within the same circle or counterrevolutionary action is to be found, undoubtedly, in the Confederation for an Independent Poland. Please note: These persons are trying to form the clubs, or rather intending to form the Clubs of the Self-Governing Republic -- Freedom, Justice and Independence; the others are also making use of slogans about independence. They state that, allegedly, our country has been, since 1944, under a new occupation, this time not Hitler's occupation but Soviet occupation; they state that Poland, in their view, and this is convenient for their sponsors, is not independent and lacks autonomy. On this issue they are trying to persuade the nation that it is precisely they who represent the real independent, self-governing and fully sovereign Poland.

I think that any sensible person should ponder this and consider, because such people, indeed, have a great deal in common with the slogans of the National Armed Forces and with the bad counselors from under the aegis or Zionism [words indistinct] and later counterrevolutionary organizations which also assumed names of political parties and lost in the fight against democratic forces, the people's forces in Poland. In my opinion these unsuccessful organizers of new parties will end in the same way, no matter how many times they change their trademark.

SOLIDARITY MEMBERS DETAINED IN CHORZOW INCIDENT

LD260828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] This morning we have received news of yet another flashpoint. According to our reporter from Katowice an event occurred last night in Chorzow which disturbed the peace in the town. During a campaign of posting leaflets and painting slogans on walls by a special group of Solidarity members, a deputy chief of the Chorzow-Batory railroad station was beaten up. The deputy chief tried to stop those members from painting slogans and spilled one of the containers containing paint. This was the direct cause of his beating. Following his phone call, militia intervened and detained about 20 young people, Solidarity members from various towns of Katowice Voivodship. After the incident, the voivodship militia command in Chorzow was visited by the regional prosecutor and representatives of the Silesia-Dabrowa region of Solidarity. We do not know the details yet but according to reports received, Solidarity members do not deny beating up the deputy station chief. At the same time they think that once the details have been taken down, the perpetrators should be released. After an initial investigation, further action has been postponed until this morning.

Because of the above incident a strike readiness has been announced at the Kosciuszko steelworks.

Detainees Released

LD261914 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, last night in Chorzow, the Citizens' Militia detained a 19-man group of Solidarity members. It emerges from further information from the headquarters of the Citizens' Militia in Chorzow that all those who were detained have been interrogated and, after making statements, were released about 1730.

KROSNO WORKERS REJECT WARSAW TALKS INVITATION

LD251500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] The strike by workers at the mining, oil and gas works in Krosno continues. Yesterday afternoon the strikers received an invitation, signed by the head of the department in the Ministry of Mining and Power, to visit Warsaw today for talks.

The chairman of the strike committee in the mining, oil and gas works in Krosno said they did not accept the invitation for two reasons. In their opinion, the invitation did not guarantee talks with the minister himself, and this is what they are demanding. Moreover, they believe they could not make in a few hours a decision which requires, in their view, a broad consultation with the workforce on strike. But they are ready to hold talks.

Strikers Agree to Warsaw Talks

LD262320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] The strike is continuing in the Krosno oil and gas works. Perhaps this conflict, too -- the cause of which lies in the demand that the Krosno works should be independent -- will be resolved, because today the strike committee accepted a proposal to undertake mediating talks with Deputy Minister of Mining and Power Industry Jerzy Malara, demanded by the preparatory (?team) which met in Warsaw yesterday. This team will be made up of, among others, representatives of the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry, the Ministry of Finances, the Polish National Bank, the trade unions, the voivodship office and the voivodship People's Council in Krosno, the Association of Engineers and Technicians of the oil and gas industry, and the League for the Protection of the Environment. The strike committee in the Krosno oil and gas works has selected and authorized its delegation to conduct talks, which are to begin tomorrow in Warsaw at the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry.

RURAL SOLIDARITY, GOVERNMENT TO START TALKS

LD252256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski met today with representatives of the National Strike Committee [OKS] of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, with its chairman Jan Kulaj. It was decided that an interministerial commission will be appointed under the chairmanship of the undersecretary for agriculture and food economy, Andrzej Kacala, to begin talks in Siedlce on 27 November with the OKS of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers. It was agreed that the local authorities will simultaneously set about solving the local problems raised by the farmers in Siedlce, Torun and Swidnica. In view of the impending talks, the OKS of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers appeals for strike and protest actions to be halted.

Talks To Begin in Siedlce

LD262332 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Despite the appeal of the National Strike Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers about suspending protest and strike actions, tension persists in much of the countryside.

Apart from the previous protest hotspots in Siedlce, Torun and Swidnica in Walbrzych Voivodship, local organizations of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers have undertaken protest action in parishes in the following voivodships: Rzeszow, Krosno, Skierniewice and several others.

The undertaking of such actions stems, in the view of Henryk Trebacz, spokesman for the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, above all from the lack of communications with the National Strike Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers which is to open talks in Siedlce tomorrow with an interministerial commission chaired by Andrzej Kacala, vice minister of agriculture and the food economy.

FARMERS, GOVERNMENT COMMISSION REACH AGREEMENT

LD262252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] As a result of 5 days of talks between the Protest Committee of the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations and the NSZZ of Private Farmers and the interministerial commission, a solution has been reached in the most controversial matter: that of the linked sale of animals for slaughter. It was decided to change the systematic solution, ensuring the activation of production and procurement by, among other things, guaranteeing the purchasing power of money received for the sale of agricultural products to socialized procurement points, of 1 November to the day on which the increased procurement prices for agricultural goods are introduced.

The basis for working out these proposals is to be a system of compensation based on the conversion of financial resources accumulated in special accounts in the cooperative banks according to the same percentage as the increase in the purchase prices for agricultural products. A detailed draft is to be worked out by 30 November and is to be put before the government no later than 5 December.

The problem of coal supplies to farmers was also solved. It was decided that the ministers of agriculture and food economy and of domestic trade and services will appeal to the chief of the Operational Anticrisis Staff for complete implementation, by 23 December, of the supplies of coal and coke planned for the countryside. It was also decided that the ministers of agriculture and food economy and of mining and power industry will introduce the principle of priority in the supply of power to rural areas, especially between 0500-0630, 1200-1430, and 1700-1900. As a result of the talks, specific actions were also determined to ensure a better supply of the industrial means of production to agriculture.

Meeting in Warsaw

LD262316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] A meeting of the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations the Independent Trade Union of Private Farmers is taking place in Warsaw today.

With the participation of representatives of local protest committees from a dozen or so voivodships the decisions resulting from the talks with an interministerial commission are being discussed. Also being discussed is the draft of an economic-financial system for farming units of agricultural circles which has been adapted to suit the provisions of the economic reform.

In the Organizational part of the session, the Main Council carried out changes in the composition of the board of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations. (Zozislaw Zabryci), the hitherto vice premier [as heard] has been elected chairman of the board in a secret ballot.

AGRICULTURE TRADE UNION HOLDS PLENUM IN WARSAW

LD262316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] A plenum of the Main Board of the Agricultural Workers Trade Union has been held in Warsaw. During the discussion the tasks of the union in the exceptionally difficult sociopolitical and economic situation were discussed with anxiety. The plenum expressed support for the idea of a front of national accord. During the session it was stated that the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 14th national congress of union delegates had made it possible to deal with many fundamental problems pertaining to wage and everyday matters of work forces at agricultural enterprises.

GORZOW' VOIVODSHIP ENDS LINKED SALES FOR FARMERS

LD262110 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] We have learned today from Ryszard Cymenicz, press spokesman of the Gorzow voivoda, that Council of Ministers Resolution 299 concerning linked sales for farmers will no longer be binding in the Gorzow Voivodship beginning tomorrow.

This decision has been made by the voivoda because the above-mentioned decree has met with determined criticism from representatives of union organizations, state farm employees and members of agricultural producer cooperatives, as well as from urban inhabitants.

The decision applies to all the articles covered by the decree, including mechanised household equipment, furniture, electrotechnical goods, radio and TV sets. However, the voivoda confirmed that priority for their purchase will be given to farmers who have delivered livestock to procurement centers after 1 November and who have received appropriate certificates.

REPORTAGE ON SCHOOL STRIKES AGREEMENTS, SITUATION

Warsaw Joint Action Agreement

LD260138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] In Warsaw a meeting of the Coordinating Commission of the (?conference) of college strike committees of the Independent Students' Union [NZS] and the Solidarity National Commission [KK] Presidium has taken place. As emerges from a communique sent to PAP, both organizations agreed that further delay by the authorities in resolving the conflict in the Radom Higher School of Engineering (?makes it) necessary to take joint action. The guarantees given [word indistinct] by the Solidarity KK Presidium and the (?participation by) the Conference of College Rectors create, in the opinion of the communique's authors, the possibility that the open-ended sit-in strike will be relinquished in favor of other forms of protest.

Communique Issued in Radom

LD262220 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Stanislaw Skotnicki report from Sejm -- live]

[Excerpts] A moment ago talks ended between the sides in the conflict at the Radom Higher School of Engineering.

The following communique was decided on: In connection with the conflict at the Radom Higher School of Engineering, on the initiative of the Main Council of Higher Education and of the Conference of Polish Rectors preliminary procedural talks took place in Warsaw today. Representatives of the Strike Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity, the Independent Students' Union at the Radom Higher School of Engineering, the College Protest Committee of the Radom Higher Engineering School in Radom, and of the rectors of the colleges and the chairman and deputy chairman of the Main Council of the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology took part in the meeting. Among other things, the following was decided:

First: The mediating team will comprise representatives of the Main Council and of the Conference of Rectors.

Second: The guarantor of the agreement concluded will be the Main Council and the Conference of Rectors.

Third: The deliberations will be conducted by an 8-man delegation made up of employees and students of the Higher School of Engineering in Radom. It was agreed that during the deliberations, three advisers and observers from either of the sides can take part as far as possible, (?permanent) workers and students of institutions of higher education. It has been decided that, with mutual agreement, the sides may invite a specialist adviser indispensable for the resolution of a particular problem from outside the body of workers in institutions of higher education. The first point for deliberation that pertains to the merits of the case will be the question of the election of the academic authorities of the college, together with the complex of issues that accompany this matter.

Fifth [as heard]: Every session of the deliberations will be chaired by a representative of the Main Council and of the Conference of Rectors, who, once the session has ended, will issue communiques on the results of the talks which have been agreed on with both sides. The fundamental talks will begin on 27 November [word indistinct] in Radom at 1700.

Lublin Protests Continue

LD260018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] The protest action at Lublin schools above the primary level is spreading more and more. More schools joined the strike today. Teachers from a total of 14 schools are taking part in the action. Members of Solidarity are taking part in the strike at all these schools and also members of the Union of Polish Teachers in some of these schools. Lessons in basic subjects are being held and in addition extra lessons are being given which are devoted, among other things, to explaining the aims of the strike and to discussing certain subjects from Polish history.

Today, during the extra lessons, the Warsaw uprising and the role of the church in moulding national culture were talked about, among other subjects.

Workers from Lublin factories and enterprises are maintaining order at the striking schools. Our correspondent reports from Lublin that talks began in the afternoon between the striking teachers at the schools above primary level and the Lublin viovoda.

Strike at Wroclaw University

LD252324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] At 0800, employees at Wroclaw University affiliated to NSZZ Solidarity started a 12-hour warning strike in Solidarity with the students of that university who have been on strike for 2 weeks. More than 150 persons, university teachers as well as scientific and scientific-technical workers have joined the action. The administrative workers are on strike at their places of work. The libraries, youth department and economic section worked normally. This protest action, according to Saturday's and yesterday's resolutions of the plenary meeting of delegates of Solidarity of the university is due to the procrastination of legislative work on the higher education bill which constitutes the main cause of the Radom conflict. The scientific workers are ensuring for the striking students all practice and laboratory work during mutually agreed hours. At present, in Wroclaw, students at all higher learning establishments are on strike.

SZCZECIN SOLIDARITY TO DISCUSS ACCORD FRONT

LD270814 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Excerpt] The Szczecin Solidarity press spokesman informs us that at yesterday's meeting, the Solidarity board of the western coast attempted to work out the attitude of the Szczecin organization toward the idea of the front of national accord. In view of the differences of opinion it was decided to hold on 1 December a consultative meeting with representatives of the trade unions at enterprises.

SOLIDARITY COMMISSION HEADS MEET IN ZIELONA GORA

LD270825 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] A meeting of Solidarity factory commission heads from all over the voivodship was held today in Zielona Gora. A stormy discussion lasting for several hours was focused on the recent strike and payments for it. The rationing during the pre-holiday period, preparations for the winter and the inter-trade education were also discussed.

SOLIDARITY 9-DAY JAROSLAW PROTEST ACTION ENDS

Agreement Reached

LD261156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Ryszard Czach report from Jaroslaw]

[Excerpts] As from 18 November, a protest action has been continuing in Jaroslaw. Black flags with "Protest" written on them are displayed on 150 buildings of Jaroslaw, Przeworsk and Radymno. Last night the voivodship trade union affairs committee concluded negotiations with the Interfactory Workers' Committee in Jaroslaw and protocols were signed, with agreement having been reached on nearly all points discussed. Unfortunately, contrary to expectations, Solidarity in Jaroslaw has not called off the protest action, giving as a reason the demand that the Municipal People's Council restore the old, historic names to Jaroslaw's streets and squares. If this condition is met, then, in response to an appeal by the Solidarity National Commission, the protest action will be called off.

The Jaroslaw Municipal People's Council met today; one of the issues under debate is a suggestion by many residents and also by Solidarity to return old names to nine of the town's streets and squares.

Protest Action Suspended

LD261646 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] In Jaroslaw, following a decision by the local Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity, the protest action which has been going on for 9 days has been suspended. The action included hanging out about 150 black flags bearing the inscription protest. The action was taken in protest against the shortages of basic food and industrial articles and in connection with the nonimplementation, in the opinion of Solidarity in Jaroslaw, of many union demands (and theses) by the administrative authorities. As a result of yesterday's talks between the team for matters of cooperation with the trade unions and representatives of the MKZ of NSZZ Solidarity in this town, agreement has been reached on almost all the questions under discussion. Today, during a session of the Municipal People's Council in Jaroslaw, a resolution was adopted on the restoration of the historic names of certain squares and streets in Jaroslaw. The local Solidarity had made suspension of the strike readiness dependent, among other things, on the implementation of this change.

FIRE SERVICE CHIEFS CONDEMN STRIKE AS 'MUTINY'

LD262228 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] In connection with a sit-in strike at the Warsaw higher school of fire officers, the chief command of the fire service conveyed to PAP additional explanations which point out the infringement of regulations covering the life of the school, on the part of the cadets who have been influenced by some members of the instructing personnel and by people from outside the school.

The command states that all over the world fire officers are trained on paramilitary principles. In compensation for the necessary limitation of freedom by the conditions of barracks life, the trainees receive benefits which students at the other tertiary education establishments do not enjoy, including complete uniform, regular pay, free travel on vacation, accommodation and full board, as well as books and teaching aids. In view of the total nonsense of this mutiny which jeopardizes the honor and ethics of the firefighting service -- in the words of PAP -- opinions are being received condemning its instigators, organizers and participants.

GUCWA, SIWAK MEET WITH CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

LD252306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Representatives of the NSZZ of Construction Workers and Housing Cooperatives met in the Sejm with the Presidium of the Sejm Construction Commission. The subject of the discussion, in which Stanislaw Gucwa and Albin Siwak took part, was the union letter sent to the Sejm speaker on the matter of housing construction. The situation in this sphere is catastrophic. Building sites are being closed down and plans are not being fulfilled.

SOLIDARITY DEMANDS 'UNCONTROLLED SLOTS' ON TV

AU251249 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 19 Nov 81 pp 1,2

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz commentary: "Without Slandering"]

[Text] Lately, our actions have conformed to our words. As announced, talks between the Solidarity National Commission and the government began on 17 November. A propaganda campaign against the authorities concerning the mass media was also initiated.

I do not know what particular plans Solidarity has in this sphere -- but for the time being TV is being almost exclusively attacked, mainly the news program.

It is difficult to say whether I consider myself an addict of the news program. One can see watered down propaganda in it, in order not to shock the viewer with the full propaganda. Bureaucracy, which is often awkward and ineffective, and propaganda-mongering make the program look as if it were run by brave survivors of the period of the "propaganda of success" who had been suddenly ordered to whine in a voice other than their own. Some attempts at dealing informatively with important subjects are embarrassing as far as results are concerned. During the strikes, several workers are positioned in front of the factory gates who, stuttering and sweating, moan that striking is not necessary, that it is costly, that it is against us all. This does not really deter one from striking.

The above subjective impressions, however, cannot be the only elements in forming an opinion about the news program.

The news program is the most important information and publicity medium of the authorities and the ruling party. It was, is and will be so, and we had better get rid of any delusions and doubts on this score. One can discuss its quality, its social effectiveness, and finally whether its activity is for the good of the party. The latest opinion polls show that the number of people watching the program has gone up recently, and 18 percent of the viewers have a very good opinion of it.

Demands for "socializing" this program and removing party control over it are, in my opinion, political fantasy. One should realize that the news program's quality reflects at the very most the need for discussion and for solving the question of what form party information and propaganda should take. For me there is no sense in discussing anything else.

The remaining TV programs -- sociopolitical and sociocultural journalism and so on -- differ distinctly from the news program. Therefore attacking TV as a whole is an expression of political manipulation, just as attacking the entire "regime" [rezimowa] press reflects the bias of the attack and the fact that the attacker deliberately ignores the differences which in fact exist between particular papers.

At least we have come to the most important matter. Solidarity is demanding changes in the TV program and uncontrolled slots for itself. For me as a viewer, the essential question is how these slots are to function and for what reason. If I am to be treated to another kind of news program offering political agitation against the authorities, then I am against the idea. After an initial period of being interested in its novelty, the program would still be political in nature, and use tiresome, empty language difficult to digest. It is true that it would present the opinions of the other side, but at the same time it would transfer the gutter nature of the struggle for power to television, on the screen of which the two sides would frighten, agitate and incite me in the same way. If such Solidarity programs smack even a little of the tenor and standards of the 211 titles of Solidarity bulletins and publications, I will have none of it. I prefer the general tenor of officialdom -- one that is sedate and cautious, and one that does not do me any harm and whose weapon is a rubber stamp.

And if these programs were to resemble the contents of the leaflets and posters used by Solidarity in its propaganda campaign, again I will have none of it.

WALESA APPEAL FOR 'HELP FROM OUTSIDE' CRITICIZED

LD260012 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] The Consultative Council of the Trade Unions of Social Utility Employees considers that the appeal made by Lech Walesa to workers and trade unions of West Europe compromises us in the eyes of the world and was an insult to our dignity.

No help from outside, even the biggest, will resolve our economic problems, the statement reads. Instead of stretching out the hand in a humiliating gesture it is better to roll up one's own sleeves and embark on solid, useful work which will yield results.

SOLIDARITY SPOKESMAN APPEALS FOR WESTERN AID

PM261021 Paris FRANCE-SOIR in French 21 Nov 81 p 7

[Benoit Rayski interview with Polish Solidarity leadership member Karol Modzelewski: "The Anguish of a Solidarity Leader" -- date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Does Solidarity want power, full power, or are you prepared to share it with the Communist Party?

Answer: Solidarity is, of course, not a trade union like Western trade unions. Once the Polish people had won some degree of freedom -- trade union freedom -- it was very natural for Solidarity to become the expression of the many aspirations of a people in the process of emancipating themselves. But at the same time it is a trade union, in other words a workers' self-defense organization which, as such, does not aspire to power....

Question: Solidarity nonetheless wants to have influence on the government:

Answer: It is true that in expressing the people's aspirations we are raising the question of power or, rather, of the exercise of power. We are demanding reforms of the state structures in order to limit the Communist Party's monopoly of power. We want a self-managing structure and, hence, we want some of the power for Polish society.

Question: Some of the strikes staged by Solidarity are frequently seen to have political objectives....

Answer: The crisis in Poland is so bad that economic demands are often no longer appropriate, and that forces us to expand the content of our political demands. This is because the crisis can be largely explained by the inefficiency of the government, which has fully maintained its undemocratic structure while Polish society has been endowed with a broad democratic organization.

Historical Compromise

Question: But is there a model of society which Solidarity and the Polish people would prefer?

Answer: It is important to draw a distinction between ideals and action based on realistic assessments. The Poles, of whom the majority [as published] belong to Solidarity, have differing political ideas, and their wishes do not necessarily coincide with what Solidarity demands, knowing what is possible and what is not.

Question: My impression is that the Polish people reject all the structures imposed by the Communist Party and have no love for the Soviet Union. However, Solidarity is compromising with the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

Answer: The agreements which we reached in Gdansk in fact constitute a great historical compromise: This compromise was not reached solely with the Polish authorities but, through time, with the Soviet Union, too.

Question: If I follow your argument correctly, you regard the Polish authorities as the Soviet Union's representative in Poland?

Answer: I think that those authorities are regarded both by the Soviet Union and by Polish opinion (or at least by its realistic section) as the international guarantors of relations between the USSR and Poland.

Question: Do you really believe that the USSR will accept a compromise with you?

Answer: In its program Solidarity says that Poland's alliance with its Warsaw Pact allies will be better guaranteed if those guarantees are given by Polish society itself. Now Solidarity is the main element which guarantees internal peace in Poland in an extremely tense situation. Furthermore Solidarity does not officially question the Communist Party's dominant position...

Question: Yes, but you are accepting compromises not out of love but out of realism.

Answer: If you like....It would be possible to imagine that there are among us men who like the regime: I must say that I personally have never met any! Of course, all that is essentially a question of realism.

Question: So far the Soviet Union has refrained from intervening in Poland. Do you think that that will last?

Answer: I hope so. Moreover some recent Soviet statements have shown that the USSR wants to avoid the use of force. This is an attitude which is dictated not by any sympathy for our movement, but quite simply by realism.

Question: Do you think that the Western democracies should adopt a passive attitude to the Polish events?

Answer: No. I would even say that what is happening in Poland concerns the Western democracies because of its possible consequences at the international level. They must realize that the development of the situation in Poland could force the USSR to take action to save the Polish Government which if it chooses a trial of strength with the people, will be unable to survive on its own.

There is also reason to fear that the crisis in Poland might exhaust the people's already formidable patience and that Solidarity at some point may fail to control the popular unrest which could lead to an explosion of despair. All that is likely to upset the world balance and also concerns the Western democracies, which cannot say, "It is not our business."

Question of Survival

Question: For instance, would you like Francois Mitterrand, who has called on the Latin American peoples to reject the right-wing dictatorships imposed on them, to make the same kind of speech to the Polish people?

Answer: I do not think that it is for me to give advice to the president of the republic. But I think that as a socialist and a democrat he cannot fail to make a judgement on the Polish situation, especially if he wants to preserve his credibility as a leftwinger. In addition, he is the leader of a state which, under Valery Giscard d'Estaing, largely helped to support the Gierke regime with all its faults. But it is now a question of Poland's survival: That is why aid from France and the other Western democracies is vital.

'WORKERS NEWS AGENCY' ON NATIONAL ACCORD FRONT

LD260038 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] 25 Nov (PAP) -- The WORKERS NEWS AGENCY [as received] reports that many trade union organizations and members of industrial trade unions are addressing themselves to the National Commission for Cooperation Between Industrial Trade Unions with questions on its position and with protests against the problem of the so-called "right to veto", which has been put forward by the chairman of the "Solidarity" National Commission, Lech Walesa, and which could be used by some of the participants of the front for national accord.

The National Commission for Cooperation Between Industrial Trade Unions has expressed its support for the idea of a front for national accord. This front, in the opinion of the commission, should rely on the principles of democracy and partnership. It has treated with concern the attempt made recently by the "Solidarity" chairman to distort this idea, which is being interpreted only through the prism of the interests of "Solidarity." The major trade union organizations, taking part in the front for national accord, must have absolutely equal rights. Not one of them may identify [words indistinct] (?by) a guarantor, a representative and (?holder) [mandatariem] of society, as is being attempted, on behalf of "Solidarity", by Lech Walesa, the WORKERS NEWS AGENCY stresses.

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSED INDUSTRIAL BRANCH TRADE UNIONS

AU251219 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Nov 81 p 5

[Report on speech by Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at the 19 November meeting with representatives of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions at the Council of Ministers offices in Warsaw]

[Text] During the meeting M. Rakowski spoke of the country's situation and stressed its seriousness. All the big words have already been spoken on this subject, he said, but the surge of unrest is continuing. The Sejm's appeal for calm has not been observed even for a day, and the same fate has been the lot of the Solidarity National Commission's resolution. Despite the Wojciech Jaruzelski-Josef Glemp-Lech Walesa meeting, strikes and demonstrations are continuing without a break, unfortunately.

Moreover, the actions occurring at higher schools are dangerous. They are an example of the destructive activities of a new student organization -- the Independent Student Association (NSZ). It is with regret that we state that some of the young people's educators are doing nothing to counter the happenings at higher schools.

Although the political situation continues to be very tense and very dangerous because of the increased militancy of the extremely reactionary forces, the government will continue to use every means of peacefully solving the crisis in Poland.

Replying to the accusations that the joint agreements have not been implemented, M. Rakowski said that our economic situation is such that one should say into a TV camera that the "republic will soon come to a standstill." It is possible to overcome the present crisis: Everything depends on whether it will be possible to stem the thoughtless strike activity. The government's entire policy is based on the hope that we will be able to change the situation for the better step by step.

PZPR STATEMENT ON ENTERPRISE PARTY GROUPS VIEWED

LD262102 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Nov (PAP) -- In connection with the statement by the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat concerning the attempts by branches of the "Solidarity" trade union to call into question the presence of party organizations and committees at enterprises, TRYBUNA LUDU writes:

Thousands of party members, workers, have been able to combine with (?honor) their party allegiance and their activity as the member of a trade union, of ten returning to their affair after biting remarks and reproaches or even moral pressure. It is impossible to look in the activities of the party sources for the confrontation of feelings at enterprises. Neither should they be sought in the working environs of "Solidarity."

The trouble makers have based themselves not [as received] at working places of plants and factories. The tactics of the leading circles of "Solidarity" with regard to the party represent, from their point of view, a certain logical approach, since they have hoped for our self-destruction, a hope which was shattered during the ninth extraordinary congress of the party. The stake on the fact that roles would change, that it would be possible to turn the members of the party who were in "Solidarity" into their own experts inside the party was lost after the decision of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. There remained confrontation, disguised today under the slogan of the self-governability of enterprises. Today the leading circles of "Solidarity" -- an obedient tool in the hands of rightwing forces -- are publicizing the thesis that enterprises' economic problems should be solved by self-management, problems which are connected with labor conditions and with "Solidarity," which would mean that there is no place at all at enterprises for the party.

Such a state of affairs, TRYBUNA LUDU writes, cannot be called other than part of a plan by "Solidarity" to take control of the national economy. Consequently, the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat states that "such tendencies are the manifestation of a dangerous political adventurism, directed not only, as it would seem, against the PZPR, but also striking at the vital interest of the working class and at the ideas for the embryonic front of national accord." Further, "we declare with all resolve that our party will oppose with all its strength these hostile undertakings. While we still exist in such a milieu, the newspaper stresses, we -- the members of the PZPR and our organizations -- will not be forced out of this milieu by any deceptive means, by any maneuverings, by any psychological blackmail by anyone, because such is the nature and such is the historical experience of our movement. [no closing quotation mark received]

So, it is not self-defense that is the aim of the statement by the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat. The statement is, above all, an execution of the party's duty before society and before the labor collectives. It is a definition of the real aims and strivings of those forces which are hindered by the presence of communists amid trade union activists, and the influence of the party on the course of social-economic transformations. It does really hinder them. The party presence in the life of the people is a guarantor and a guarantee for socialism, the organ of the PZPR Central Committee notes.

PZPR CENTRAL REVIEW COMMISSION HOLDS SESSION

LD242244 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] The Presidium of the PZPR Central Review Commission [CKR] has held a session. The preliminary results of the checks carried out by CKR teams and the tasks of these teams for the first half of 1982 were discussed. The session was chaired by CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski.

PZPR YOUTH COMMITTEE HOLDS SESSION ON ISSUES

LD260030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] The Youth Committee of the PZPR Central Committee held a session under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz party committee. The discussion, which lasted several hours, dealt with matters connected with the current state of work on the draft of a national social-economic plan for 1982 and with the problems of the younger generation, as well as with the current situation in academic circles.

PZPR LEADERS PAY REGIONAL VISITS, SPEAK ON ISSUES

Premier in Piotrkow Trybunalski

LD252226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Today, from early in the morning, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and government premier, has been visiting the Belchatow industrial district.

First, the first secretary visited the (Odkrywka) strip mine and then he spent almost an hour at the site of the power station which is under construction. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was being shown round by Tadeusz Kolcz, the power station director, took an interest in how work was progressing and especially in the preparations to synchronize the first 360 mw turbogenerator with the national grid. The first secretary frequently went up to the construction workers at working installations. The conversations lasted several minutes on more than one occasion. The premier was interested particularly in working and living conditions. In one of the conversations he also stated that the government must show particular care toward Belchatow. Above all, the government must ensure further allocations of resources and materials so that there are no more delays.

The first secretary went straight to Piotrkow from Belchatow. Here, at 1200, a plenary session of the voivodship committee began. The session was chaired by Stanislaw Kolasa, first secretary of the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship party organization. Also taking part was Jerzy Romanik, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Mining Commission of the Central Committee. The plenum was devoted to key issues pertaining to the construction of the Belchatow mining and power complex in 1982-83 against the background of the present progress of work.

A speech by Mieczyslaw Glanowski, undersecretary of state for mining and power industry, served as an introduction to the discussion. He described the present situation and presented the policy plans for the next few years. A lot of speakers then drew attention in the discussion to the situation in the sphere of housing and auxiliary construction which is the most serious threat to the further development of the construction of the Belchatow basin. The situation which exists makes it very difficult to get the right number of qualified cadres and to increase the area of the (?strip mine) in view of the shortage of houses for those asked to move.

It was also stated that the Belchatow investment project is becoming too big for the organizational capabilities of Piotrkow Voivodship and that under no circumstances can it be carried out at the expense of only this voivodship. The project must find its steadfast position in central planning, financing and material distribution. Experience teaches us that the system of government sponsoring of Belchatow in the shape of the appointment and activities of various commissions has unfortunately not proved effective. The Belchatow investment project should become the object of particular concern for the central party authorities and should be virtually under the constant supervision of the Central Committee of our party.

The next to speak was Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee and premier, who made his stance known on the issues touched on during the discussion.

Milewski Visits Krosno

LD252302 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Party Central Committee, visited Krosno Voivodship today. He met with the party and economic aktiv of the Podkarpacie area. During the discussion issues pertaining to the present political and socioeconomic situation of the country and to the activities of the party in these complex conditions were discussed. Many matters of special interest to working people were touched on. Special attention was drawn to the activities of the party leadership and government in overcoming the present crisis.

Barcikowski in Warsaw

LD252222 Warsaw PAP in English 2056 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUPP Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski this afternoon met party members at Warsaw University. Analyzing the present socio-political situation in the country, Barcikowski stressed such dangerous phenomena as deepening erosion of structures and social authorities, the signs of increasing weariness of the society caused by the crisis and the threat of violent outbreaks.

Turning to the idea of national agreement conceived by the party, Barcikowski spoke highly of the church's attitude to the project. "Throughout the socio-political crisis which has swept Poland, the church has never made a step that would exacerbate the present difficult situation," said Barcikowski.

Referring to Solidarity's approach to the creation of the national agreement front, Barcikowski said that Solidarity representatives have put forth a number of preconditions before agreeing to the idea of the front. He hoped however that Solidarity will appoint its representative to the initiative group which will start preparations for the national agreement.

Kubiak at Cegielski Works

LD252252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] The PZPR works committee in the Cegielski works [in Poznan] held a plenary session today. Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, was present and in a lengthy speech he analyzed the most important sociopolitical and economic phenomena in our country pointing to the major directions in the activities of the party and, in particular, of the primary party organizations in overcoming the Polish crisis.

Secretary Kubiak stressed that it is possible to arrive at a solution of the most difficult problems only on the basis of full national agreement which in turn will influence the proper introduction of economic reform, and socialism must be defended and built on the basis of the geopolitical realities in which Poland finds itself, restoring fundamental economic laws to our economy.

Concluding his speech, Hieronim Kubiak said:

[Begin recording] In all, I am an optimist, but this is not a cheap kind of optimism; we have had enough of that. I am an optimist mainly because I think that in this crisis situation the entire reason for the contemporary existence of Poland is in line with our reasons. [as heard] We have at this moment absolutely nothing to hide.

Whatever we defend we do not defend because of party egoism. What we are doing is genuine party responsibility, not a fake one, not one based on a paragraph in the Constitution, but a genuine responsibility for how Poland will appear tomorrow. [end recording]

In the afternoon, Secretary Hieronim Kubiak participated in the open meeting of the party organization at the Adam Mickiewicz University.

Kubiak Addresses Lodz Aktivs

AU251224 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Nov 81 p 2

[Jan Kraszewski report: "PZPR Leaders Meet Aktivs -- Lodz"]

[Text] The daily problems of society's life, of the national economy, of the political situation and of the role of the basic party organizations were discussed at a meeting between Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and the party aktivs of the People's Army plant in Lodz.

Does the Politburo feel itself responsible for the dangerous phenomenon of the disproportions in the earnings obtained by the workers in the private and the socialized sectors? When will wages be paid for actual work? Has the 1972 decree about the retirement pension for state employees and their families been annulled? Why has capitalization of rural areas been allowed? These were some of the questions asked at the meeting.

Answers to most of your questions. H. Kubiak said, can be found in the Ninth PZPR Congress program, which has not been worked out by a narrow group of intellectuals, but has evolved on the basis of the grassroots proposals, programs and resolutions put forward by several thousands of party organizations. All these proposals, programs and resolutions continue to be examined by Central Committee departments and by the recently appointed commission for the party's long-term program.

As you see, the resolutions adopted by the ninth congress and the fourth plenum constitute the party's collective wisdom and are the sum total of our society's aspirations. We must always return to these resolutions in order to avoid any depreciation of them. And this is just what our adversary, who wants to replace the party program with its own program, is doing.

The meeting returned several times to the political struggle for Poland's image. This struggle is accompanying almost all actions taken by the authorities. The efforts to negate these authorities and to paralyze initiatives help intensify chaos and [worsen] the working and living conditions.

Our state is sick, H. Kubiak said, and strikes, which in the end always turn against the strikers themselves, are the most tragic manifestation of this sickness. The passivity of the majority, which does not approve of such a form of protest, makes it possible for the noisy minority to impose its own arguments and to win its own political aims.

The result of that, H. Kubiak continued, is Polish society's being at loggerheads with itself. Towns are against rural areas and workers are against the intelligentsia.... Only a determined "no" pronounced by the basic party organizations can halt the wasteful strikes. We need social peace so we can rehabilitate the meaning of work and understand that only work can improve our lot.

Willingness alone is not enough, H. Kubiak said, and this is why -- as a party -- we are for self-management, for a profound economic reform and for universally observing the economic laws and principles throughout the economy. This applies also to individual farming, handicrafts and small services.

As for the issue of guilt, the participants in the meeting were told that clarification proceedings were continuing in the case of E. Gierek and P. Jaroszewicz and that the results of these proceedings will determine whether penal proceedings will be started. No one wants to defend anyone without the necessary justification as long as breaches of the criminal law are at stake. But the problem of political responsibility is another question -- much more complicated.

The Politburo has addressed a letter to you, H. Kubiak continued, which treats of two basic issues: every party member's view of his plant's responsibility and the concept of the front of national agreement. Individual party organizations will present their views on these subjects, and the party leadership will honor these views. This form of consultations will be a permanent feature of the party leadership's ties with basic party organizations.

In the afternoon H. Kubiak attended the accountability conference at the Lodz Polytechnical School.

Kubiak Lodz Polytechnic Speech

AU251758 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Nov 81 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, at the 19 November meeting of the delegates of the Lodz Polytechnic]

[Text] Speaking at the meeting, H. Kubiak said inter alia that we have learned very little after each crisis and that we have forgotten even faster what we did learn. After each crisis what interested us most was what was going on in production and the least what was going on in the sphere of political structures, which ought to be compatible with the state of productive forces. The result of this was that our forms of power did not conform to the development of the social structure and to the individual elements of this structure. Because there was no conformity in this regard, we were unable to build into the political system a corrective mechanism that would enable us to solve conflicts.

Ethics and Politics

Many of those who were not Solidarity members saw Solidarity in August 1980 primarily as an ethical, not political, slogan and as a kind of tradition of the working movement, where solidarity was the essence of the ethical strength of this movement. This created a certain kind of relationship with Solidarity; for instance, we regarded it as a source of hope and not as a political movement and manifestation.

The result was that for a long time criticizing Solidarity was interpreted as disloyalty to the party, or as a breach of a certain ethical code.

Meanwhile Solidarity as a movement absorbed all the political views which we thought existed only in history books. This movement created an enormous political machine with a membership of 40,000 people. Almost immediately after the ninth congress, the party and its program clashed with Solidarity, the political machine, not the mass movement. This clash had to come because inter alia the program needed time. We must see this in political terms. This fight, which was fought around the congress, had a psychological purpose. It was necessary to "remove the spell" and to draw the community away from the party.

The Fight for the System

Analyzing the programs of the party and of Solidarity, H. Kubiak said that the smallest differences occur in the economic sphere, whereas the essential ones begin with the country's political attributes. This involves opposition even in the meaning of terms, that is, opposition between the Polish People's Republic and the self-governing republic. The first is a socialist political definition; the second is merely a pretty slogan.

Continuing his speech, H. Kubiak concentrated on the party situation and the demands of all party members to fight for the defense of socialism and for national interests.

The signpost in this fight, H. Kubiak said, ought to be the formula of the front of national accord.

Michalek at Lodz Plant

AU251201 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Nov 81 p 2

[PAP report: "Zbigniew Michalek at a Meeting at Polmerino Factory"]

[Text] The party-economic activists of the Lodz district of Plesie and the farmers from Lodz urban region had a meeting in the Polmerino textile plant on 18 November.

The main theme of the meeting, which was attended by Central Committee Secretary Z. Michalek, were problems of farming and food production.

The meeting devoted much attention to invigorating the procurement of animals. The speakers from the floor stressed that the decision on linked sales had set the towns at loggerheads with rural areas. The farmers, they said, need help in the form of increased supplies of the means of production, which will also be made possible by switching some plants from capital goods production to the production of farm machinery and spare parts. The meeting also raised the issue of expanding the farming base for the urban region of Lodz.

Answering numerous questions, Z. Michalek said among other things that the lack of consistency in farm policy was responsible for the disadvantageous structure of agriculture. Only those should farm land who know how to farm it properly and to produce good yields. Referring to the measures to invigorate procurement, he said that the so-called tied procurement had not been socially accepted either in rural areas or in workers communities, although it had to some extent increased supplies of produce.

Orzechowski in Warsaw

AU251216 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Nov 81 p 2

[Report on speech by Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski at the 18 November meeting of the party organization at the Swierczewski precision equipment factory in Warsaw]

[Text] During the factory meeting, speaking about the meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski, Primate Jozef Glemp and Lech Walesa, M. Orzechowski said that the church and Solidarity had reaffirmed their loyalty to the constitutional political principles of the Polish People's Republic and had expressed their readiness to take action to establish the front of national accord as the only chance for solving Poland's problems.

Answering questions provoked by the rumors there were divergencies within the PZPR leadership, M. Orzechowski stressed that the fourth plenum had helped to consolidate the party as well as its leadership.

Discussing the state of the PZPR, M. Orzechowski said that the party must preserve its natural character and regain its ideopolitical identity. He stressed that the party's ability to engage in actions to lead the country out of its crisis was being determined by the party organizations in factories.

During the meeting, a question was asked about why those administrative workers whose incapability was being proved by the local operational groups were not being punished. M. Orzechowski answered that those groups cannot ad infinitum do the job of the administration. Their reports will be examined by the People's Councils, and sanctions will be applied against incapable heads of rural parishes and officials. Logic indicates that the local operational groups should return to rural parishes after a time to see how the performance of the local administration has changed. M. Orzechowski shared the anxiety of one of the participants in the meeting in connection with the worsening state of public security, increasing burglaries, thefts in broad daylight and so on.

TRYBUNA LUDU INTERVIEWS OLSZOWSKI ON SITUATION

LD262224 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] 26 Nov (PAP) -- An interview with member of the PUWP Central Committee Political Bureau, Central Committee Secretary Stefan Olszowski was published in TRYBUNA LUDU today. Some more statements by Olszowski follow:

"The present situation must, actually, arise concern. The tide of strikes has been sweeping Poland. The countryside has become the area of political penetration by forces who are trying to consolidate its influence through expanding their social basis."

"Let me be explicit: If the society does not accept industrial strikes any longer in [word indistinct] it used to accept them some time ago -- as [words indistinct] according to which only 46 percent of the respondents came out in favour of the warning strike while earlier the support for strikes amounted to 80-90 percent -- the action of political strikes had to be shifted onto another, non-production sphere of life. The countryside in the late autumn time, as well as higher schools, or even secondary ones as is the case in Lublin, are, in the opinion of the organizers, suitable for the purpose."

"The aim has remain the same: To undermine the foundations of social and political life, to refuse the authorities breathing space just as the time when talks were resumed between the government and Solidarnosc, when the idea of the national conciliation front was put forth. All this is meant to prevent any positive solutions."

Referring to the incident in which the law enforcement organs prevented the holding of a founding assembly of a new illegal organization called "Clubs of the Self-Governed Republic Freedom-Justice-Independence" which was to take place at Jacek Kuron's flat, Olszowski said that the clubs' draft ideological declaration clearly indicated what the idea behind them was. "They are opposed to less radical concepts, such as, for instance, the socio-Christian ones, and to the possible chance of Solidarnosc cooperation with the state."

"They maintain that 'the authorities submitted to the pressure of independent organization' are losing the possibility of action, and that the society's hopes for Solidarnosc-government talks to produce peace and order will not be fulfilled. They are accusing the authorities of the alleged attempts to break up Solidarnosc. In other words, they want neither agreement nor cooperation, and through the formula of 'the pressure of independent organization' they negate even that conception put forth by Walesa in which he came out in favour of a union as government's permanent watchdog."

"Kuron wants to take the initiative into his hands. He hates the initiative to be in the hands of forces on the other side, which are rather inclined to think reasonably and in a more constructive way. What he is thinking about is as usual the breaking up of the structures of the people's state."

"In both his political genealogy and programme Kuron inscribes the right wing of the Polish Socialist Party, the Christian ethics and even Pope John Paul II's encyclical. This is an interesting attempt following the rule that any argument is o.k. if it helps one to attain the goals he wants. Kuron, an experienced political player, easily adapts to moods and emotions."

"In my opinion, through mobilizing the joint forces of the society it is possible to make at least one small step forward. This does lie within the capacities of our economy. Of course it requires social peace, refraining from strikes. The opponents of the socialist system do not want it. They are afraid of social peace."

The idea of the accord does not concern the opponents of socialism. The front of national accord should include all genuine social and political forces which want to save the nation, support Poland, and a People's Poland, thus socialism. It is supposed to be a patriot's front, regardless of their world outlook, party affiliation or belief. The accord front must take reality into consideration, new forces like Solidarnosc and historic ones like the church, but basically it must take into account the fact that the basis of the political system of our country lies in the PUWP's democratic alliance with the United Peasant's Party and the Democratic Party, that according to the Constitution the leading role in the state is exercised by our party. And it is these principles, along with loyalty to our international alliances, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that constitute the roots of the accord idea."

"Strikes, political demonstrations, anti-Soviet propaganda and nationalism instigated by extremists, deliberately do not serve but oppose the accord. Or maybe it would be better to say those are rightists reactionary politicians regardless of behind whose back they hide, be it workers, solidarnosc, students or farmers. If this tide of political reactions, counter-revolutionary undertakings and slogans, conscious attempts to split up our country, our friendship with the brotherly socialist states, of destroying the economic conditions of the biological existence of the nation will continue to step over Poland. The Polish state will grow increasingly weaker."

"I do not conceal that the social accord idea has another alternative. This alternative is confrontation. Neither the party nor the state or the Polish society desire it. Who does then?"

"The situation in Poland resulting from internal factors is not isolated from the rest of the world. Ideological and political subversion quarters, foreign intelligence, anticommunist political inspirations have for many years acted upon Poland and still do so today."

"In the vapours of mad anti-Sovietism, the opponents of Poland's socialist path of development, reactionary politicians and counter-revolutionaries might launch a provocation campaign aimed at bloodshed. Realism enjoys that such a possibility be taken into account."

"What they want is to destroy structures of the socialist state, discard the Polish model of socialism and replace it with something undefined, but without communists, something which is to be self-government [words indistinct] though obvious for the majority of people. They treat Poland, the nation, the territory, our style of living like a theoretical model, want to transform it into a pro-Western state and bourgeois, in fact."

"But theory does not give this style of thinking satisfaction. It still tries to express itself in practice. Initially this can be seen already. I have already spoken about non-incidental, in my opinion, instigation of unrest, strikes, exciting college and high school students, about violent attempts at weakening the position of reasonably thinking people by extreme forces within Solidarnosc, political excesses finally. Is this the end? The aim today is to hamper political talks and negotiations, to obstruct the road towards the front of national accord, to normalization of life in Poland. What will they want tomorrow? Time will show. But let no one be deceived by illusions that he will manage to liquidate socialism in Poland. This is simply unrealistic."

FORMER VOIVODSHIP SECRETARY EXPELLED FROM PZPR

LD262350 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] A meeting of the adjudicating team of the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Control Commission took place today. During the meeting the case of the former first secretary of the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Committee was examined. As a result of the meeting, it has been decided to expel Ludwik Drozd from the ranks of the PZPR.

ZSL CHAIRMAN STRESSES VALUE OF ACCORD FRONT

LD271028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Yesterday, Deputy Premier Roman Walinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, met over 300 ZSL activists from Warsaw city and voivodship. The meeting was devoted to topical political and economic problems of the country and the ZSL's ensuing tasks during the report-back and election campaign in ZSL branches and other organizations.

Roman Malinowski stressed the key importance of the national accord front in overcoming the current sociopolitical and economic crisis.

KOWALCZYK REPORTS ON ECONOMY AT SD MEETING

LD262328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Today a meeting of the national council of chairmen and secretaries of voivodship committees of the SD Central Committee took place in Warsaw. Members of the (?strict) leadership of the SD, including the chairman of the SD Central Committee, Deputy Premier Edward Kowalczyk, took part in the session. He reported to the assembly on the current work of the Government Presidium and conducted an analysis of the current social and economic situation in Poland. Following this, the conditions of political activity of the SD, economic forecasts for the current and coming year, and the difficult crisis conditions in which the economic reform will be carried out were discussed. A great deal of attention was devoted to matters of organization. [word indistinct]

KPN CALLED 'CLANDESTINE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION'

LD251910 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- The Confederation of Independent Poland KPN which presents itself as a political party is in reality a typical clandestine subversive organization of a paramilitary type, the Polish Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote today.

The daily pointed to two organizational planes of KPN, one of which is open and known to the state authorities organs and another, secret one, of unknown membership, both of them developing parallel activities. The paramilitary character of the structure of KPN does not serve the expression of political beliefs only, but is an organizational-political instrument of subversive activities and makes it possible, when the need arises, to transform the organization into a system of armed militant groups and detachments.

No one expects that KPN can abolish the socialist system of the country, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI went on. The crux of the matter lies in the cynical adventurism of KPN managers, their beastly hatred of communism, in their treating most seriously the timetable of destruction of the people's state through a five-stage creeping counter-revolution.

But the greatest danger lies in the fact that KPN uses for its activities a part of youth and even children. Who can guarantee that, stimulated by their hatred to socialism, top leaders will hesitate to push its young and confused members to actions of tragic consequences? asked the daily.

PRICES OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS TO INCREASE 1 DEC

LD262034 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] According to information released by the State Price Commission, the retail prices of alcoholic beverages will be raised beginning 1 December. Spirits will go up in price by about 75 percent, domestic wines by about 80 percent, imported wines by about 40 percent and beer by about 70 percent. Ration cards for alcoholic beverages and valid in November can be utilized only until the end of the month.

ARMY OPERATIONAL GROUPS BEGIN WORK IN TOWNS

Colonel Views Warsaw Tasks

LD252312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Following a month of activity by the local operational groups in regions, it is time for them to visit the towns, and the headquarters (?of all) voivodships. Today and tomorrow new local municipal operational groups are going into action. In the capital, following a briefing at which tasks were set, our reporter invited the deputy head of the voivodship military staff, Col Zenon Jaworski, for a talk.

[Begin recording] [Question by unidentified interviewer] Colonel, a moment ago the briefing ended. People were given tasks which they will be implementing starting tomorrow.

[Answer] The tasks are serious, according to what the public expects. We have already passed the test within the framework of activity of local operational groups at the regional and town region level. We are now entering the area of metropolitan Warsaw itself, in which several municipal operational groups will be active in every district as well as in certain localities around Warsaw. These localities include Nowy Dwor Mazowiecki, Wesola, Legionowo, Zielonka, among others.

[Question] What will be the main things with which they will be dealing?

[Answer] One of the fundamental tasks is to draw attention to the functioning of municipal transportation in our capital. Another matter is the power industry, preparations for winter, and control of various issues of this kind in institutions and work enterprises, chiefly in housing. Also to be considered are issues connected with the health service, care of older people and children. Certain tasks will become clear when we are at the location.

[Question] So one can say that tomorrow will be a day of reconnoitering the terrain, and the tasks that life itself imposes on the groups.

[Answer] That's right, there's no doubt about that. Above all there will be a meeting with hosts of the districts, hosts of the towns, that is, with municipal authorities as well as with secretaries in the district (?and) municipal committees, and with other people who supervise this area. [end recording]

Work Starts in Legnica, Glogow

LD270822 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Polish Army urban operational groups started their work today in two of the largest towns of Walbrzych Voivodship -- Legnica and Glogow. These are larger groups than those which worked in rural localities. Their task is to control the work of various urban communal services and also of trade, communication and transportation. All-round assistance in preparing for the winter, mainly the preparation of thermal and power stations, is also the task of these groups. Generally, the task of urban operational groups is all-round assistance to the population in preparing for the winter and work during the winter in the field of production. Apart from that, control military groups are active at some enterprises in Legnica Voivodship. They cope with the tasks of defense, including civilian self-defense.

POLITYKA VIEWS EFFORTS AT NATIONAL ACCORD

AU251930 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 21 Nov 81 pp 1, 7

[Daniel Passent article: "Laying Heads Together"]

[Excerpts] The specter of national agreement is roaming all over Warsaw. Over a year ago people demanded that our political life should be guaranteed against the serious ills of the state, which have been mercilessly exposed by the striking workers.

At first people thought that it would be enough to have legal guarantees such as the censorship law, the self-management law, the trade union law, the higher school law and so on, but it is now obvious that the laws will not by themselves solve the problem in question.

The democratization to date not only has not safeguarded the country against disruption and the progressive struggle for power, but has also created a kind of arena for this struggle and a bridgehead for further clashes and free-form wrestling among various political forces. This has resulted in the generally known paralysis, which someone has wittily though exaggeratedly defined as follows: Those who govern have no power and those who have power do not govern.

Because legal changes have proved inadequate, people are increasingly demanding institutional, systematic and political changes. These demands represent various trends. The determined opponents of the one-party socialist system openly talk about overthrowing the government, dissolving the Sejm and holding new elections, and they are trying -- for this reason -- to set up political parties and organizations, of which there are already over 30, according to some estimates. Some of these demands have been submitted by Solidarity's radical wing, but have not been accepted by Solidarity's central authorities.

The proposals submitted by various intelligentsia circles, often with Catholic roots, constitute the other trend of the suggested systemic changes. These proposals include the demand that "the self-governing organizations and institutions should set up a civic socioeconomic council that would possess a large degree of credibility in evaluations, views and activities relating to the state's socioeconomic policy" and that "outstanding experts should be appointed to leading positions in the national economy."

The 18 signatories of these proposals include figures connected with the church (Rev Jozef Tischner, Jerzy Turowicz, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Andrzej Micewski), with Solidarity (Attorney Jan Olszewski and Prof Witold Trzeciakowski) and with the world of science -- such prominent scientists as Wacław Gajewski and Aleksander Gieysztor, who, not being directly affiliated with any political organization, enjoy great authority among the Polish intelligentsia.

Because "it is impossible to govern Poland without agreement," (Washington POST of 9 November), the PZPR, the allied parties and the government camp have also submitted proposals for a transformation of political life -- a limited transformation, one that has not been wholly defined and that is in an embryonic state. Even the first secretary's agreement or need to attend the meeting with Primate Jozef Glemp and Chairman Lech Walesa constituted the admission that it is impossible to govern Poland without the support of the other sides. The first secretary was joined in this meeting by two other figures.

That meeting, which was an act of courage and determination on the part of all three participants -- of whom two have to overcome the opposition in their own ranks and the third cannot exert too much influence on political solutions because he is a moral and spiritual leader -- was followed by other specific steps: initial consultations on restoring the office of the president of the republic; on the Constitution tribunal that would watch over the accord between legal enactments and the Constitution; the state tribunal that would sit in judgment of the highest officials who have so far enjoyed immunity; the social consultative council attached to the Council of Ministers; and the council for national accord, whose present forerunner is to be the initiative group. Eventually the social consultative council and the council for national accord would be merged into the front of national accord.

The very idea of setting up the council for national accord and then the front of national accord elicits exaggerated hopes, against which the people should be warned, and opposition occasioned by the sad experience of the National Unity Front and by the fear that, on the one hand, Solidarity could be compromised and, on other, socialist values could be compromised and, on other, socialist values could be sold down the river.

In this situation the composition and powers of the council for national accord must be determined by the main sides concerned and by a more extensive discussion, including the press discussion. The authorities' initial position seems to be this: There is no question of a coalition government, but there is a question about the council for national agreement. The PZPR is and will be the leading force in the government. The organizations and the persons included in the council for national accord -- this means not only the party, the church and the trade unions, but also the allied parties and other associations -- can influence the course of events through their votes in the council. They can also influence the decisions of the council itself, whose first and most urgent task is to devise the way out of the political stalemate through systemic decisions made within the framework of the Constitution, which means that the council will not make political changes. The issue is not still another body working on the economic reform, or on this or that law, but a body in which the fundamental political issues will be discussed and whose members will air their intentions, prevent unnecessary conflicts through their authority and create an atmosphere in which it will be easier to make decisions that are firm and acceptable to the majority of our people. The council's position vis-a-vis the Sejm, the proposal to set up the second parliamentary chamber, the new elections and so on is still to be defined. As for political and constitutional intentions, Deputy Premier Rakowski left no doubt on this score in his ZYCIE WARSZAWY interview of 14 November: "I am against pretending and mutual outmaneuvering (...) The interests of the people and socialism do not permit any ambiguities. That was a very honest presentation of the issue, and we expect the same from the partners."

SEJM ECONOMIC COMMISSION MEETS, DISCUSSES DEBT

Cegielski on Payments

LD252342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] To close our review of events, here is our parliamentary reporter Stanislaw Skotnicki:

[Begin recording] [Skotnicki] The Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance today discussed, among other things, the balance of payments for the present year, along with preliminary assumptions for the coming year. We invite to the microphone the deputy chairman of the commission, Deputy Longin Cegielski. Sir, the balance for this year -- it is as if it were history now -- is a sort of basis for prospects and forecasts for the coming year.

[Cegielski] Yes. I want to say that the situation in the balance of payments is one of the main causes of the continually deepening economic crisis in the country. We export too little to be able to import a sufficient amount of resources which are essential for the growth of the country's material production.

[Skotnicki] That is, export is not something that deprives us of goods but is simply a condition... [sentence interrupted]

[Cegielski] It is a condition of our having more goods. Without exports there are no imports. The country is in debt. The possibilities of obtaining additional credits for cooperative imports, the import of raw materials and of semi-finished products -- there is no rosy prospect here either. We are simply a country that has little credibility in the payment of obligations.

[Skotnicki] That is a new phenomenon, for...[sentence interrupted]

[Cegielski] That is a completely new phenomenon. And in view of this, if we wish to obtain any additional credits in order to obtain on favorable terms the opportunity to get hold of raw materials, semi-finished materials and products essential for the correct functioning of the economy, then we have to maximize our exports. [end recording]

\$25.7 Billion Debt Reported

LD252242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] The Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance under the chairmanship of Deputy Zbigniew Gertych today examined the draft balance of payments for next year. Taking part in the session were the chairmen of other Sejm commissions.

It emerges from a report presented by Minister of Finance Marian Krzak that the debts of our country came to about \$25.7 billion in convertible currency at the end of last month. An increase in exports would provide a way out of the situation and this would make it possible to pay for credits and imports.

Krzak Report Cited

LD262108 Warsaw PAP in English 1713 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Nov (PAP) -- Polish indebtedness abroad reached 25.7 billion dollars at the end of October, Finance Minister Marian Krzak disclosed during yesterday's session of the Economic Plan and Budget Committee of the Polish Sejm.

It is expected that this year's trade with capitalist countries will be balanced or Poland will record a slight surplus. Exports will amount to more than 6 billion dollars, with estimates for the next year put optimistically at under 8 billion.

Big size of the foreign debt is not the true cause of Poland's economic difficulties, Minister Krzak asserted in his Sejm appearance. It is the structure of credits which is unfavorable (they are used to finance consumption, not investment projects). The situation is compounded by general economic destabilization which leads to falling production and exports. Exports being insufficient, we must contract new credits to repay the old ones.

Both Minister Krzak and the deputies who took part in the debate voiced the opinion that a rise in exports permitting Poland to service her foreign debt and pay for necessary imports is an imperative. Exports must be increased significantly within the next four years, that is, before we have to start repayment of new debts currently used to refinance the old ones.

Exports could be increased through sparing home consumption of such export commodities as copper, coal, and sulfur and a simultaneous rise in their production.

STUDY GROUP URGES GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

PM251651 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21-22 Nov 81 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "200 Intellectuals Propose Government Reorganization" capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] Warsaw -- The "Experience and Future" study group known as DIP (from its Polish initials) and which contains more than 200 of the most renowned Polish intellectuals (economists, sociologists, historians, writers and film producers in particular), who include Catholics as well as liberal communists, has played a very important role in the country's political life since 1978. Its successive reports which announced the development of the crisis even before August 1980 and proposed reforms, caused a sensation. The DIP has just now produced a document entitled "The Political Cadres of the Polish Compromise."

In this document the Polish intellectuals indicate that the population is now aware of the need to change the government structures if a repetition of crises like those in 1956, 1970 and 1980 is to be avoided.

As recently as last fall, they say, it would have been possible to introduce a PATERNALIST MODEL FOR THE SOCIAL EXPANSION OF THE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. That is not enough today: "The expansion of the social composition of the government would not solve anything. A much deeper compromise, affecting the government's principles and legitimacy, is vital."

According to the DIP this "Polish compromise" is both necessary and possible. It is necessary because none of the existing forces is capable of steering the country out of the crisis on its own. It is possible because THE POPULATION HAS ATTAINED SUCH A DEGREE OF SELF-ORGANIZATION THAT IT CAN EXPRESS ITS DEMANDS AND ITS NEEDS, NEGOTIATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE COMPROMISE AND BE JOINT GUARANTOR OF ITS OPERATION. But for this to be done all those involved must be given guarantees that their fundamental interests will be preserved. It is necessary therefore to reach agreement on what the document calls "security zones." The authors make no secret of the fact that given the "enormous distrust" of various forces, that will not be easy.

A "Chamber of Social Accord"

The document then examines what "guarantees" are necessary to the party, "Solidarity, the population and the church.

For the party it is a question of MAINTAINING ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE STATE WHICH IS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. In other words exclusive control over foreign affairs, the interior and the Armed Forces in particular and a "controlling block" in parliament. There is also the question of respect for the foundations of socialism, such as collective ownership of the means of production. Finally the party must maintain an "influence" over the appointment of cadres either by its participation in the decision-making process or by a proportion of cadres posts being guaranteed for party members.

As far as Solidarity is concerned, its independence and self-managing nature must be respected as must its existence as a social and not just a trade union movement. This implies responsibilities in spheres such as monitoring legality, freedom of conscience and so forth. In this connection the DIP even suggests the formation of a "chamber of social accords" in parliament. Society as a whole must be assured of its right of association and self-management in all spheres. Finally the Church must have ITS PARTICIPATION IN ALL MEDIATION GROUPS LEGALLY GUARANTEED.

All this implies, therefore, that all the existing forces accept a kind of "self-limitation" of their powers and ambitions. The party must abandon the monopoly of an omnipotent government and accept the population's participation. Solidarity for its part must not aspire to power, which it does not do. This is particularly necessary since THE PROBLEM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CREDIBILITY AND HENCE ITS LEGITIMACY occupies THE FOREFRONT.

The formation of an independent government whose members will be accepted by all the existing forces is, in these conditions, necessary and urgent. In addition to action to combat the crisis, it will first have to draft bills on THE NEW LEGAL GUARANTEES FOR THE SYSTEM.

To attain this objective the Polish intellectuals advocate the conclusion of a "minor social accord." It would comprise in particular the agreement of all on the institutional changes guaranteed by the constitution; the abandonment by all sides of any "show of strength;" the government's pledge that THE POLISH ARMY WILL NEVER BE USED TO SETTLE DOMESTIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DISPUTES. The temporary abandonment of any strike action; an assurance that all sides can FREELY EXPRESS THEIR VIEWPOINTS ON TELEVISION, RADIO AND IN THE PRESS. The DIP explains that this "minor social accord," should be signed by the party and the associated groups (Peasant and Democratic Parties), all the trade unions, the Catholic groups, and scientific and creative associations, and have the Catholic Church's backing.

As can be seen these are very practical proposals and above all are acceptable to all sincere officials if the "Polish experiment" and the renewal are to be successful.

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER MEETS SOVIET COUNTERPART

LD262010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] Tadeusz Nestorowicz, minister of foreign trade, who is in Moscow attending a session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Foreign Trade Matters, today met Nikolay Patolichiev, USSR minister of foreign trade. Matters connected with the implementation of mutual goods supplies in the current year and issues relating to Polish-Soviet trade exchange next year were discussed.

FINANCE MINISTER ON ADVANTAGES OF JOINING IMF

AU191734 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

[PAP Henryk Burucinski interview with Marian Krzak, Polish minister of finance: "Poland in the International Monetary Fund?" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Poland has declared its desire to join the IMF. We were founding members of that organization, but in 1950 withdrew from it. Why have we resolved to return?

[Question] Minister, as I understand from bits and pieces of information, we have for a long time been engaged in talks on rejoining the IMF. Why do we solicit that?

[Answer] Indeed, the idea of rejoining the fund emerged rather a long time ago. For many months we have been holding talks on this subject both with our allies and IMF representatives. But why? Capitalist countries are accountable for about half of our trade turnover. In this situation, it is difficult to pass up an organization which plays a decisive role in the functioning of the international system of payments. For example, IMF members may contract a loan to solve immediate payment difficulties resulting from a disequilibrium in the balance of payments.

[Question] And what has our reform to do with IMF membership?

[Answer] As is known, our reform calls for introducing some elements of the market economy, for the full independence of enterprises, including foreign trade enterprises, and for broad power for banks. We want to improve our monetary system at home. That will enable us to make fuller use of the possibilities offered by IMF membership.

[Question] What can we expect from this in practical terms?

[Answer] The IMF will certainly help us get out of the difficulties, although that does not mean that it will solve our problems for us. Certainly, we will be able to take advantage of statutory possibilities offered us by that organization in the shape of loans for meeting the current balance of payments deficit, but on condition that we ourselves improve the structure of our payments turnover. In addition, we expect some facilities in our international financial operations.

[Question] Our "operations" amount to contracting new credits to pay off the old ones, and to looking for possible "extra" credits to set the economy straight. Is that the point?

[Answer] Among other things, yes. The IMF offers certain credit facilities.

[Question] The size of our share certainly does not entitle us to large credits?

[Answer] The possibilities in this field are big enough. When a country, in addition to the statutory credit facilities, wants to obtain what is called in the fund expanded credits, it must substantiate its application with a report including a program for improving the situation. The implementation of that program is then under the control of the fund authorities. Moreover, IMF membership entitles us to World Bank membership that gives its members credits for investment purposes. That would be another impulse for reviving our economy.

While summing up, I would like to emphasize that our return to the IMF is an important event, because it engages us much stronger in international monetary cooperation and facilitates our trade exchange. The issue of our IMF membership must not be reduced to loan issues. Along with the World Bank, this organization will enable us to expand our exports, particularly the export of services, because we will be able to participate in contract actions organized by that bank.

[Question] But sir, as long as we have a commodity, we are able to sell it without the assistance of the bank.

[Answer] Here you are mistaken. Auctions held under the auspices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development exclusively for members of those organizations are the most interesting. Those organizations are highly experienced in economic politics and put their experience at the disposal of members. That is particularly important for us, because the reform in our country will bring some unknown factors. Thus our membership gives us a number of facilities, but we should bear in mind that those will only be facilities. The emergence from the crisis will primarily depend on our own effort.

[Question] Sir, I have been listening to all that with some incredulity: Sheer facilities in exchange for a small share on our part, and primarily in our currency at that. Does not IMF membership impose any obligations on us?

[Answer] Certainly, we will accept some obligations. First of all, we must provide information about the state of our economy. But, as is known, we have been doing that for some time. However, I think such an insight into our economic affairs will enable them to make a more objective evaluation, and thus it will boost the credibility of measures taken by the government.

[Question] Not all socialist countries belong to the fund. Will our joining the IMF have any effect on our cooperation with CEMA partners?

[Answer] It will have a definitely positive effect. There will be no collisions. Indeed, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and China already belong to the fund. The same applies to Romania, which is a CEMA member. Hungary has also applied for IMF membership. One can say that countries with significant trade turnovers on the world market are interested in this. We will continue to develop our economic contacts with the socialist countries, and the more so the stronger our economy. We will take consistent pains to strengthen our position in CEMA and to discharge obligations stemming from our membership in that group.

HUSAK RECEIVES ORZECZOWSKI IN PRAGUE CASTLE

LD260004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Today President Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received at Prague Castle the heads of delegations taking part in the meeting of representatives of fraternal parties who are taking part in a conference devoted to the activities of the PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM monthly.

On behalf of the Polish delegation, Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the party Central Committee, rose to speak during the meeting. He stressed, among other things, the role and importance of the monthly in the present international situation. He also presented the PZPR's stand in the matter of topical problems of the political and ideological struggle in the international arena.

CZYREK MEETS WITH YUGOSLAV LEAGUE DELEGATES

LD252240 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- A delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Franc Setinc, secretary of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee, has made a fact finding trip to Poland and held talks at several PUWP Central Committee departments, the Institute of the Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, Warsaw PUWP Committee and visited a textile factory in Lodz.

The delegation was received by Political Bureau member PUWP Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

LD261626 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received the Australian foreign minister, Anthony Austin Street, who is paying an official visit to our country.

Czyrek, Street Speeches

LD252232 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Nov (PAP) -- Australia's Foreign Minister Anthony Austin Street arrived on an official visit to Poland today. He was greeted at the airport by Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

This is the first visit at such level paid to Poland in the history of diplomatic relations between the two countries, in return for the Polish foreign minister's visit paid to Australia in 1971.

Plenary talks which opened at the Polish Foreign Ministry will range over international problems and development of bilateral relations.

Earlier today Minister Street laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier.

Czyrek's Speech

I wish to express satisfaction over the fact of hosting in Poland, for the first time at such a high level, a representative of Australian government, said Czyrek.

Allow me -- he added -- to express my belief that your present visit will set even more favourable conditions for the furtherance and consolidation of the contacts and cooperation between Poland and Australia in all areas. This is in the interest of both our countries and peoples, in the interest of strengthening peace and growing international cooperation.

Currently -- Czyrek continued -- Poland is going through a difficult and complicated period. Facing economic difficulties and social tensions we have undertaken a process of socialist renewal and deep reforms in our country, in the spirit of consolidation of the socialist democracy and on the basis of [word indistinct] front of national agreement now being created. We have prepared and we are now implementing the programs of stabilization and redressing of the economic balance. We have a firm resolve to restructure the Polish economy in such a way that it would serve well the interests of our nation and become a significant factor in the international division of labour.

Our meeting is taking place in the period of tensions in international situation and serious threats to the continuation of the policy of detente and cooperation in Europe. Particular concern is roused by the [word indistinct] and ruinous for humanity arms race. Ominous signals allowing the thought on a possibility of a nuclear war on our continent are reaching Europe.

In today's world there must be no room for thinking in terms of getting military superiority. The nations of Europe and of the world must not allow to waste the accomplishments of detente. There is no task of greater importance and urgency than to save humanity from the dangers brought about by arms race from (?nuclear calamity). We are confident that the new peaceful proposals recently tabled by the Soviet Union, in particular the initiatives put forth by Leonid Brezhnev reiterated during the momentous talks in Bonn, are meeting these aspirations and hopes.

Poland, as a socialist state and a member of the Warsaw Treaty, always has been actively collaborating in strengthening peaceful order in Europe, in expanding the dialogue of detente, in consolidating positive processes in international life, in laying foundations for a lasting security and mutually beneficial cooperation between all European states, between the East and the West. Even today, despite the difficulties suffered, we do not intend to ease these efforts. I wish to emphasize -- concluded Czyrek -- that we are attaching great weight to comprehensive development of relations with your country. There are many areas in which we can and would like to increase the cooperation and collaboration between Poland and Australia. We approach with interest many Australian initiatives, including the ones on establishment of zones of peace and cooperation in South-East Asia and in the Indian Ocean.

The bonds of friendship, to the spreading of which the Australians of Polish descent are also making a weighty contribution are the factor promoting comprehensive increase of our mutual relations.

Street's Speech

Thanking Czyrek for warm welcome, Street said:

Although geographically distant, Poles and Australians have shared a great deal both in war and in peace. In peace, the links between Poland and Australia have developed in a way that we in Australia hope will continue. I would say that perhaps the strongest link between Australia and Poland is the link of people. In the past year we have seen the considerable efforts and generosity of the Polish communities in Australia in sending help to Poland at this time of need. It is a mark of the wider Australian community's interest, that the Australian Government is itself now contributing to those efforts. We will always welcome settlers from Poland and I am pleased that in our discussions here we will be addressing the question of Polish emigration.

Another important element in our relationship is economic cooperation. For a long time, Poland has been a market for Australian commodities, especially wool, skins and hides, and early this year when you sought Australia's assistance to maintain essential Australian imports, the government was pleased to be able to help.

It is understood in my country that Poland occupies a crucial position in Europe. You are important to the balance between the East and the West, and Australians appreciate this well. It is natural that events in Poland should arouse very great interest in Australia, as they have elsewhere. In my country there is a strong sympathy for, and understanding of what is occurring in Poland and a recognition of the historical importance of Poland's renewal. We believe that the situation is one for Poles alone to resolve and determine and we are confident that in keeping with your great traditions, a Polish solution will emerge.

The international community is passing through a difficult period. World wide economic problems demand solutions and Australia is committed to playing its part in this regard. The burden of armaments grows heavier and we hope that the talks soon to get under way in Geneva will result in real progress both in their own context and in the wider framework of disarmament negotiations. There are limits to the weight a middle power like Australia can bring to bear in seeking solutions to these and other crucial issues but there are also responsibilities which we must all share. The Australian Government will continue to play an active and positive role.

[Word indistinct] how much I have appreciated our first round of talks today and that I look forward to my further discussions during the remainder of my visit. These discussions have and will contribute to my awareness and understanding of Poland's concerns and preoccupations both at home and abroad. While our priorities and perspectives (?differ in) many areas, we should look forward to and strive for a broadening of areas of mutual interest in which cooperation will become a natural process. I hope my visit will contribute to that process, concluded Street.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Agenda Adopted

AU251755 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development, today chaired the joint plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and of the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development.

The plenary session unanimously adopted the following agenda:

1. Increasing the role of party bodies and organizations and communists in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions; firmly applying the new economic-financial mechanism; strengthening workers self-management and self-administration and regional self-supply of the people; improving planning and leadership of the economic activity; and continuously developing workers socialist democracy.
2. Draft single national socioeconomic development plan of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1982.
3. Draft plan on the development of agriculture and food industry for 1982.
4. Draft state budget and the centralized financial plan for 1982.
5. Program on regional self-management and self-supply to provide agricultural, animal and vegetable produce to the people for 1982-85, and within this framework, the program on providing the people with agricultural and foodstuffs and with industrial consumer goods in the fourth quarter of 1981 and in the first 6 months of 1982.
6. Report on conclusions drawn following control carried out at the Oltenia mining combine.
7. Certain organizational matters.

The plenary session is being attended by the first secretaries of the county party committees, cadres from ministries, central institutions and mass organizations, chief editors of the central press who are not Central Committee members.

The plenary session participants observed a minute of silence in memory of Comrades Dumitru Dumitru, member of the Central Committee and director of the state agricultural enterprise Peitroiu, Calarasi County; and Aurel Vijoli, member of the Auditing Commission, who have passed away since the last plenary session.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented the report on increasing the role of party bodies and organizations and communists in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions; firmly applying the new economic-financial mechanism; strengthening workers self-management and self-administration and regional self-supply of the people; improving planning and leadership of the economic activity; and continuously developing workers socialist democracy.

Ceausescu's Address 25 Nov

AU252029 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Report on speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 25 November plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development -- with recorded portions]

[Text] (Begin recording) Esteemed comrades, the Central Committee plenum will examine problems of particular importance for our country's socioeconomic development, for implementing the party program and the 12th party congress decisions.

The plenary session will especially discuss -- in a critical and self-critical manner -- how our party is fulfilling its leading role in our society; the application in practice of the new economic-financial mechanism; the strengthening of workers self-management and self-administration; the improvement of planning and the leadership of the economic activity; and the continuous development of the workers socialist democracy.

The discussions that will take place at the Central Committee plenum must be permeated by a lofty revolutionary responsibility and by Communist Party spirit and must stress everything that is positive and ensures our socialist society's firm progress and that, at the same time, applies a firm criticism and self-criticism when it comes to shortcomings and drawbacks in the various sectors of activity.

The discussions and decisions that will be adopted by our plenum must ensure improvements in the activity in all fields; an increase in our party's leading political role; strengthened links with the workers class, the peasantry, intellectuals and with all working people, irrespective of nationality and with all our people. At the same time, they must instill a decisive spirit of work and revolutionary struggle in unswervingly implementing the party program and in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. [applause]

Two years have passed since the 12th party congress. We are at the end of the first year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, which will ensure our fatherland's continuous development, an improved material and cultural living standard for our people, the strengthening of economy and political forces and the sovereignty and independence of Socialist Romania.

Events and life have demonstrated and fully demonstrate the correctness of the assessments and decisions of the 12th party congress, both regarding the domestic situation and international affairs. In the 1970-80 period and during the 1976-80 5-year plan, Romania experienced vigorous socioeconomic development. As is known, industrial production has increased almost threefold in the past 10 years while agricultural production has increased 1.6 times. The material and cultural living standard of our people has considerably improved. In the case of a number of products, the per capita consumption almost doubled compared with 1970, and during the 1976-80 5-year plan, real remuneration increased 29 percent, which is much more than the plan provided for.

Following an increase in the labor force, the development of the material-technical base and the improvement of production and social relations, deepgoing changes have taken place in Romanian society. Romania has become a strong socialist country with modern industry and advanced agriculture in the full process of developing and improving. All this clearly demonstrates the correctness of the RCP policy and its strategic line and practical activity based on firmly applying the principles of scientific socialism and the objective laws to the concrete conditions in Romania.

These achievements forcefully prove the superiority of our socialist system, the force and creative energy of the workers class -- the leading class in our society -- the development and strengthening of the workers-peasant alliance and the alliance with the intellectuals and with all the other social categories, the strengthening of the unity of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and all our people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front under the leadership of the RCP -- the leading political force of all our society. [applause]

Thus it has been clearly proved that our party has honorably fulfilled its historic mission in the struggle for social and national liberation to eliminate the exploiting classes, any kind of oppression and for building the socialist society based on the principles of social justice and equity. Reality also clearly proves that our party is honorably fulfilling its historic mission under the new conditions by ensuring the people's leadership in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, in constantly strengthening the material and cultural strength of socialist Romania and its national independence and sovereignty. [applause]

Dear comrades, the 1981-85 5-year plan envisages the continuation of the development of our economy and of all our social activity and Romania's transition -- on this basis -- to a new stage, the stage of an average-developed socialist country. During the current 5-year plan and alongside with developing the forces of production, we must ensure the best possible correlation and balance between the various sectors and subsectors of the national economy, improved planning and leadership of the overall social activity. The 12th party congress set forth the basic task of achieving a new quality in work and life in our fatherland. [end recording]

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then stressed that the results achieved in the first year of the current 5-year plan, a 23 billion lei higher commodity production than in 1980, increases in net production and the successes in increasing labor productivity and satisfactory crops demonstrate the correctness of the plan provisions and are a continuing basis for implementing all targets of the 5-year plan.

Examining certain difficulties that have emerged in implementing provisions, especially regarding ensuring the energy and raw material basis, the party secretary general stressed that life has demonstrated the correctness of the Central Committee guidelines aimed at fulfilling -- at home on the basis of the capabilities of our national economy, the workers class and of the men of science -- the need for raw and other materials, spare parts and subassemblies, energy resources -- a trend that will continue in the future as well.

The speaker stressed the need to take firm action against signs of obsequiousness toward foreign countries and of mistrust in one's own strength. After stressing that, to a greater or lesser extent, all countries are affected by the world economic crisis, which he compared to a storm which we should not passively wait out but which we should take action, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

[Begin recording] In the current domestic and international circumstances, we have achieved important results in developing our economy. This guarantees that we have everything that is necessary to implement the 12th party congress decisions and to fulfill the 1981-85 5-year plan to ensure our socialist fatherland's constant progress, the strengthening of the technical-material base, an increase in the national wealth, an improvement in the material and cultural living standard of our people and the constant strengthening of the strength and independence of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [applause]

Esteemed comrades, in conformity with the basic goals of the current 5-year plan established by the 12th party congress, the 1982 plan submitted for discussion to the Central Committee plenum focuses on developing the energy and raw material basis in our country. It is necessary to focus the 1982 plan on achieving the planned oil and coal production, developing new energy sources and reducing energy and fuel consumption and on the proper management of the energy sources we have available.

At the same time, we must ensure the commissioning of thermopower plants operating with coal and bituminous shales and of hydropower plants and microhydropower plants. All our forces -- both technical and human -- must turn in this direction. It is necessary for the Ministry of Geology, Petroleum and Mines and for the other raw and other material-producing ministries to take firm action to completely and smoothly achieve the production envisaged by the plan. We must consider the provisions for coal and oil production, for ore production and generally for raw materials as minimal. Let us act with all our strength to achieve a higher energy and raw material production. It is necessary for the party activists, the communists and all working people in these economic sectors to take very energetic action, in a revolutionary and workers spirit, to give the fatherland more coal, more oil and more energy, more ores and raw materials.

I would like to appeal, from the rostrum of the Central Committee plenum, to the communists, the working people in the oil and mining fields and to all raw material-producing workers to show a lofty patriotic, workers' and revolutionary spirit in implementing the tasks devolving on them. Dear comrades, please do all you can to meet the requirements of all our nation; please fulfill as much as possible the need for energy and raw materials in our national economy and by our people. [applause] [end recording]

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then referred to the manner in which action was taken in 1981 in industrial branches and sectors, in transportation, investments and to the tasks devolving on them in 1982. He criticized shortcomings obvious in the activity of certain enterprises and the responsible ministries. From the high rostrum of the Central Committee plenum, the party secretary general appealed to the working people in industrial branches to act in a revolutionary and patriotic spirit to completely implement the tasks devolving on them. The activity must focus on achieving the item-specified, commodity and net production, on increasing labor productivity, cutting back production costs, raw and other material costs and on increasing economic efficiency and profits.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then referred to another basic branch of our national economy.

[Begin recording] The 1982 plan envisages very important tasks in the agricultural field. It is necessary for us to achieve 24-25 million tons of grain production in 1982; we should achieve 4,000 kg of wheat per hectare; 5,000 kg of corn per hectare; more than 4,500 kg of barley; more than 30,000 kg of beet; and more than 20,000 potatoes per hectare. We must also obtain at least 20,000 vegetables per hectare and larger fruit and grape productions. We have everything necessary to attain those levels.

This fall, although certain counties are lagging somewhat behind, sowing has been carried out under proper conditions and the crops look good. Firm measures are necessary to completely wrap up the fall activity, to finish harvesting and the transportation of goods and to completely finalize plowing. No hectare, no meter of land must stay unplowed this fall -- this is a condition for properly preparing the 1982 crop. Firm measures are also necessary to ensure fodders, to modernize stables, to properly look after and raise animals and achieve the planned production levels.

Special attention must be paid to industrial plants and to produce such raw materials as flax, hemp and various oil-producing plants, medicinal plants, spices and other products necessary for our national economy. Appropriate measures are also necessary to ensure the fulfillment of the important tasks in fruit-growing and wine-growing and in the other fields of activity. It is necessary for us to carry out more sustained activity in all agricultural work under favorable agrotechnical conditions, beginning with plowing and sowing, by ensuring the appropriate density of all vegetable crops, proper tending of crops and by finishing timely harvesting without any crop waste. [end recording]

Continuing by stressing that in 1981, too, certain agricultural units did not reach the optimal density when sowing their crops, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the attainment of the goals requires the elimination of negative conditions and, in this context, criticized the work style of the responsible ministry, of the county agricultural bodies, of the uniform agroindustrial state and cooperative councils and of certain production units that did not understand that their mission is to obtain the largest possible crop.

Asking for the achievement of order and discipline and for a sense of responsibility, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the 1982 plan provisions in agriculture must be viewed as minimal. The speaker then reviewed the tasks to ensure proper storage of crops, guarantee the state stocks, implement the program on land improvement and supply agriculture with machines and tractors.

Stressing that we have all the material conditions to fulfill the 1982 production plan, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the conviction that the working people will do all they can to achieve next year's goals and to thus turn it into an important step in the direction of fulfilling the 5-year plan and implementing the 12th party congress decisions.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then referred the tasks devolving on science and education in developing and modernizing the production process and in improving technologies, reducing material consumption and acquiring competitive equipment on a world level. The speaker stressed the need to appropriately train all cadres and to reassign them with a view to making intensive use of the production capacities available in our country.

An important chapter of the speech was devoted to the foreign trade activity and to international economic cooperation. The speaker stressed that in this field, too, there are a number of lags, especially regarding the fulfillment of export tasks. The speaker mentioned the tasks devolving on the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, which must act with great determination to eliminate shortcomings and to apply the decisions of the party-state leadership regarding this sector of activity and to ensure order and discipline in implementing the goals envisaged.

As regards the economic indexes of next year's plan, the speaker stressed that the national income will increase 5.1 percent and the social product will increase 4.4 percent, thus ensuring conditions for the smooth development of the national economy and, on this basis, an improved living standard for our people. In conformity with the 12th party congress provisions, some 30 percent of the total national income is allotted to the development fund, while 70 percent is allotted to the consumption fund. In connection with implementing financial policy, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the responsibility that devolves on the Ministry of Finance, banks and on the other financial bodies in carrying out strict control over expenditures, eliminating waste, reducing foreign currency spending, ensuring the means for payments, foreign currency sources and an even balance of payments. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then said:

[Begin recording] Esteemed comrades, one of the most important concerns of our party and state is the creation of conditions so that along with the socioeconomic development, the improvement of the national income and of the national wealth, the people's material and cultural living standard will constantly improve as well.

We are coming to the end of 1981 having achieved, generally speaking, the plan provisions regarding increasing incomes and marketing goods through the socialist trade network. Thus real remuneration in 1981 will increase 1.5 percent and goods marketing through the socialist trade network more than 4 percent. I shall refer to only a few agricultural products and foodstuffs. The sale of meat and meat products will increase some 3 percent, that of vegetables almost 22 percent, sugar 4.3 percent, oil 6.3 percent, eggs almost 17 percent compared with 1980, and important increases can be reported also in other products. At the same time, the marketing of industrial products increased almost 5 percent and services increased 8.5 percent. To the agricultural products and foodstuffs sold from state stocks through the socialist trade network, I must add the products sold by the agricultural production cooperatives and by cooperative members and private producers who have delivered important quantities of agricultural products and foodstuffs to the market.

The growth rate of retail prices was some 103 percent, which is within the limit envisaged by the plan. In 1982 the supply program for the fourth quarter of this year and the first 6 months of 1982 ensures an increase in the sale of products through the socialist trade network of 4 percent of agricultural products and foodstuffs and 5 percent of industrial products.

As you have been able to note, the necessary product quantities are ensured for the proper supply of our people for the entire given period, up to the new harvest. The fulfillment of the supply plan under favorable conditions requires that the Ministry of Agriculture, the agricultural bodies and the other economic ministries act with great determination to achieve the planned products. The Ministry of Domestic Trade must ensure the proper organization of marketing products, both in villages and towns in conformity with the principles of self-management and self-supply and with the country's legal provisions.

I have to mention that the Ministry of Domestic Trade and its leadership has not paid the necessary attention to the proper unfolding of the domestic trade activity; there have been shortcomings, and very serious shortcomings also in the activity of the consumer cooperatives.

The Ministry of Domestic Trade, its leadership and consumer cooperatives, the leadership of consumer cooperatives and the state and cooperative trade units and all working people in trade must act with a lofty spirit of responsibility and exactitude and do all they can to ensure the timely marketing of products to the people under favorable conditions by completely eliminating any tendency toward waste and profiteering.

We must see to it that the working people in domestic trade and in all sectors fulfill their responsibilities and ensure that product reach the consumer. Thus, the socialist builders will fulfill their tasks toward the party and people. [applause] [end recording]

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then stressed that in 1982 a gradual increase in the working people's income and in the incomes of the other social categories will continue in conformity with the 12th party congress provisions. On this occasion, the speaker stressed that along with increasing contracting and production prices, an improvement of retail marketing prices is necessary in a number of products to better correlate production and marketing prices and the prices of various other products.

During the 5-year plan, the price growth rate will be 8-9 percent, while real remuneration will increase 14-16 percent. Under such conditions, net remuneration will increase 24-26 percent. The other incomes of the people will also increase. At the same time, an appropriate ratio will be ensured between the prices of industrial products and the prices of agricultural products, thus contributing to strengthening the alliance between workers and peasants and to the general development of the national economy and the improvement of the material and cultural living standard of our people.

Continuing, the party secretary general dwelled on the program of self-management and self-supply, on the responsibilities of each county and each locality regarding the proper fulfillment of measures included in that program. Stressing a number of data regarding the increase in the population in 1982 and in the coming years up to and including 1985 Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented the levels that must be reached in the per capita consumption of meat, milk, grain and so forth and the measures that are required in this respect to substantially increase agricultural production in each county and establish the structure of a rational food supply as well as the duties devolving on socialist trade and on cooperative trade in the given field.

Continuing his speech and stressing the complexity of problems implied by the fulfillment of the 1982 plan, the party secretary general stressed the need to improve planning, organize and lead the overall socioeconomic activity by criticizing shortcomings and drawbacks of the State Planning Committee, which are concretely shown by decreased responsibility and uniform control over the socioeconomic activity.

Stressing that the work style of the Council of Ministers is directly linked with certain shortcomings in the activity of several ministries, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the members of the Central Committee and party leadership who are working in the government to take firm action to eliminate shortcomings in order to fulfill the highly responsible tasks entrusted to them by the party and people.

The speaker referred extensively to the activity carried out by the leading councils of the ministries and other central and local bodies of the state power and administration, the justice bodies, the prosecutor's office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, all of which are called upon to act with determination to fulfill their highly responsible tasks in our society, to observe socialist law and to apply the norms of equity and ethics.

After stressing that the appropriate functioning of the collective leadership bodies, of the general meetings of working people and of the established central bodies is a telling expression of our socialist democracy, the party secretary general said:

[Begin recording] Esteemed comrades, the increased leading role of the party in all fields of activity is reflected by the manner in which the party program and the 12th party congress decisions are being implemented and by the manner in which the plan on socioeconomic development and the program on improving the material and cultural living standard of our people are implemented. It is clear that everything we have achieved, everything that is positive also reflects on the party activity as well as that of the Central Committee, the party bodies and organizations and communists. It is also obvious that existing shortcomings and drawbacks are the result of deficiencies in the activity of those bodies and express the manner in which they act to implement the party's leading role to ensure the unity of efforts of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and the efforts of all our people in implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our socialist state.

In the time that has elapsed since the 12th party congress, during the current year, the Central Committee, the Political Executive Committee, the Permanent Bureau of the Political Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Central Committee have adopted a number of measures and have acted to unswervingly implement the party decisions. Generally, we can state that this activity is in keeping with the tasks and goals set forth by the party congress.

However, we cannot overlook the fact that in the activity of those bodies too there have been a number of shortcomings and drawbacks, that not all members of the Central Committee, of the party leadership, have always acted with great determination and all their responsibility at their workplaces to fulfill the tasks devolving on them.

The activity of the Central Committee, of the Political Executive Committee and of its Permanent Bureau, of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and of other party bodies does not limit itself only to adopting decisions and a program of measures. This is only one aspect, albeit a very important aspect of our activity. However, the activity of organizing the implementation of measures and the control over implementing those measures is decisive. It is precisely in this respect that there have been very serious shortcomings. The organizational work and control over the implementation of decisions, in the final analysis, shows the ability of each party activist to fulfill the tasks entrusted to him by the party.

Considering the great responsibilities devolving upon us and the complex problems that must be resolved, it is necessary for both the Central Committee -- collectively -- and each of its members to act with greater determination to fulfill their tasks.

Let us see to it that the Political Executive Committee, its Permanent Bureau and the Secretariat ensure the timely solution of problems and the application of measures and the control over the implementation of the decisions by acting in the spirit of the statute provisions and of the communist exactitude and by strengthening the party's responsibility, order and discipline.

We must see to it that our Central Committee and its bodies fulfill their role of real chief of staff in organizing and leading all our activity. [applause]

Proceeding from the need to develop the party's internal democracy and increasing the role of collective work and acting with great determination to increase responsibility, discipline and order in all fields of activity, let us pay greater attention to the activity carried out by the county, town and communal party committees, by the party bodies and organizations in all enterprises, institutions and socioeconomic units. Undoubtedly, the results we have achieved also reflect the work performed by the party bodies and organizations and the activity of the communists. Generally, this activity is positive and I believe that we must highly appreciate the dedication of the party bodies and organizations and the party members in implementing the party decisions and the country's laws and in uniting the working people's efforts to implement the 12th party congress decisions. [applause] [end recording]

The party secretary general then criticized certain shortcomings and drawbacks in the activity of certain party activists and bodies, certain unacceptable practices of violating the laws and norms of socialist ethics and equity, stressing that such practices have been obvious in certain sectors in industry and agriculture.

Demanding a firmly stop to the negative conditions obvious in the work performed by some party bodies and organizations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

[Begin recording] We act to increase the spirit of responsibility in becoming acquainted with reality and in properly organizing work and fulfilling tasks. It is necessary to increase the role played by the party aktiv, to intensify the participation of communists in discussing and resolving problems. Party democracy is a requirement of the proper functioning of the party, of strengthening the force and ability to struggle of the party and of its unity, and it also constitutes a component part of workers socialist democracy in Romania as a whole.

As I have repeatedly mentioned, the achievement of the party's leading role is reflected, in the final analysis, in the manner in which each communist and each activist carries out his activity. When we talk about the party's leading role, we do not understand it as an abstract notion, a slogan, but as a practical activity carried out daily whereby each communist and each activist and each party organization and committee, up to the Central Committee, ensures that the working people's efforts are united by acting in close cooperation with the masses and by being constantly in their midst and by working and living next to them and by participating in their day-to-day life and in the cultural-educational and entertainment activity. We must never forget that our party's force and strength lies in the indistructible unity with the workers class, with the peasantry and the intelligentsia and with all working people, irrespective of nationality, and in the unity with all our people, and we must do all we can to constantly strengthen this unity between the party and people. [applause]

As I have repeatedly mentioned, the communists have not and cannot have separate rights, they cannot have any privileges; however, they have special responsibilities. By consciously joining a revolutionary party like our party, which proposes to achieve the revolutionary transformation of the world, they must act consciously by dedicating all their working capacity, their will and, if need be, their life to the party, socialism, the people, independence and our country's sovereignty. [end recording]

The speaker then stressed the tasks devolving on mass organizations, trade unions, the organizations of the Union of Communist Youth and womens organizations to mobilize the masses in reaching the targets of developing the country's socioeconomic activity. He also stressed the need to increase the role of the organization of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front in coordinating and uniting their component organizations under the party leadership in the struggle to implement the plan tasks.

After stressing that it is necessary to improve the ideological and mass educational-political activity and the complex process of shaping the new man, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

[Begin recording] We must unswervingly base all our ideological and political-educational activity on the materialist-dialectical concept of the world and life and the principles of scientific socialism. It is necessary for us to carry out intensive activity to improve the political conscience in order to understand the sense of the development of the human society and the objective social laws. We must arm the party members and the working people and all our people with the revolutionary spirit and concept of struggle and work to surmount all difficulties and to ensure our fatherland's firm progress on the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. [applause]

Special attention must be paid to knowing the past revolutionary-democratic struggle waged by our people and the fatherland's history. We must also develop pride for the excellent achievement in the years of socialist construction -- the fruit of the work of our heroic workers class and of all our working people, irrespective of nationality, who are unswervingly implementing our communist party's domestic and foreign policy. Let us strengthen the spirit and determination to defend and develop our revolutionary achievements, love for the fatherland and the people and the cause of socialism. The socialist revolutionary patriotism must become a defining feature of our communists and of all our working people, of the youth in our fatherland and of all our people. It is necessary to strengthen the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood among all working people, irrespective of nationality. Let us forcefully stress the correctness of the national Marxist-Leninist policy practiced by our party which has resolved, in a revolutionary manner and for the first time in our country, for good and in a just manner, the nationality problem by achieving complete equality of rights among all the working people, irrespective of nationality.

Our party and socialist country can be proud of how this problem has been solved, and without any false pride this can be taken as an example by many countries in the world. [applause] Let us strengthen the unity of the working people, let us combat any chauvinist and nationalist signs and any attempts of the enemies of socialism, of the reactionary imperialist circles from outside to (?interfere) in this great revolutionary conquest.

We must not forget that the imperialists and capitalists have always tried to split peoples, to stir up national enmity between them, so as to be able to oppress and subjugate them more easily. The solution to the national problem, the strengthening of the unity of all the working people, irrespective of nationality, is a requirement and part and parcel of the struggle for socialism and against imperialism and the policy of domination and oppression.

In our political-educational activity we must be determined to combat obscurantism and any retrogressive manifestations, alien concepts that penetrate from outside. We must firmly cultivate the spirit of social justice and equity, of cooperation and comradely assistance among all the members of our society. Let us firmly promote the norms of socialist coexistence between people. [end recording]

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then stressed the imperative of a new upsurge in mass cultural activity, in the masses' participation in cultural life and in the general development of the new revolutionary socialist culture and stressed the role to be played in this respect by the Song-To-Romania Contest. He also emphasized the role played by schools in the revolutionary and communist education of youth in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism. Along this line, he asked the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Ministry of Education and Instruction to draw up educational programs permeated by a revolutionary and patriotic spirit.

The unions of creativity, theaters, movie houses, press and radio-television were called upon to increase their contribution to the revolutionary and communist activity carried out by our nation and to shaping the new man.

We must do all we can, the party secretary general stressed, so that the ideological and political-educational activity will constitute a factor of great importance in implementing the 12th party congress programs and in ensuring the bright future of our nation.

After stressing that international events confirm the correctness of assessments and guidelines of the 12th party congress regarding the party's and Socialist Romania's foreign activity, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu extensively examined the international situation. He outlined our country's actions in the international arena and the principles that are at the basis of Romania's foreign policy.

He then expressed particular concern over the situation created in Europe owing to huge stockpiles of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, and over the determination to deploy and develop medium-range missiles and to produce the neutron bomb which will be deployed also on our continent. Stressing that our party and state are acting with great determination to stop the deployment and development of new missiles in Europe and to achieve the withdrawal and complete elimination of existing ones, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

[Begin recording] In the name of life, of mankind's basic right to life, to peace and freedom, we must unite our efforts by saying a determined no to the arms race, to war, any kind of nuclear weapons and to do all we can to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to establish a lasting peace on earth. [applause]

Now before the missiles have been launched, before nuclear bombs begin falling, before it is too late -- that is, while we are still alive -- let us stop nuclear arming, let us determine the transition to general and primarily nuclear disarmament. It will be too late after the nuclear bombs have been dropped. Then there will be no one to pass judgment on the guilty, no longer will there be either culprit or judge. Let us act united now to safeguard the world from a nuclear war to defend life on our planet. [applause]

In this spirit we firmly advocate the achievement of a nuclear-free zone in Europe and the creation in the Balkans of new relations of cooperation and friendship. We are firmly against the deployment of missiles and nuclear weapons in that area. We firmly advocate the conclusion, with results as positive as possible, of the Madrid meeting, the convening of a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe and the development of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation among all the states on the continent, irrespective of social system.

Let us act to eliminate the division of our continent into military blocs and opposed economic groupings. Let us act to achieve equal cooperation and a united Europe by respecting each country's social system and independence. We also support efforts to ensure the continuity of meetings on cooperation and security in Europe and we are prepared to host the next meeting in our fatherland's capital, in Bucharest. We pledge to do all we can to ensure optimal conditions for that meeting in Bucharest.

We hail the coming negotiations in Geneva between the Soviet Union and the United States in connection with stopping the deployment and withdrawal of medium-range nuclear missiles. We also hail the statement made recently in Bonn by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, in which he says: "If our partners display readiness to reach agreement on the complete renunciation by both sides, the West and the East, of all the types of medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at targets in Europe, we stand for this. Generally speaking, we stand for Europe becoming eventually free from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones. That would be a genuine 'zero option,' which would be just for all the sides."

We believe that this is a real sure means to avert the danger of a war and to strengthen peace on our continent, an aim all European peoples and all mankind aspire to. We also assess as a positive element the recent statement by U.S. President Reagan that the United States is prepared to go as far as to cancel the deployment of new missiles in Europe and substantially reduce the strategical nuclear weapons.

These statements stir the hopes among European and world public opinion that, the sides at the Geneva negotiations, which will begin soon between representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States, will act to reach an agreement on eliminating both medium-range nuclear missiles as well as any other kind of nuclear weapons from Europe.

Undoubtedly, there are essential differences between the statements of the leaders of the USSR and the United States. We believe that above anything else one should proceed from the desire by the two sides to have negotiations, from the desire to reach agreements to stop the deployment and rapidly reduce the number of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe to the lowest level, and to eliminate all types of nuclear missiles and to free our continent from nuclear weapons.

Taking into consideration that all these problems directly concern all European peoples, we believe that it is an objective requirement for the states of this continent to assume greater responsibility in resolving them and in achieving disarmament. Europe and all the states on this continent must participate, in one form or another, in negotiations to halt medium-range nuclear missiles; they must have their say and contribute to the achievement of acceptable understanding for all countries.

Taking into consideration the scope of the arms race, we believe that everything must be done to freeze military expenditures to the level of 1981 and to proceed, in the coming year, to cutting back expenditures by at least 10 percent. It is necessary to cut back weapons, primarily nuclear ones, and military troops and to renounce demonstrations of force at the borders of other states; it is necessary to take tangible measures aimed at strengthening mutual trust. We highly appreciate the big mass demonstrations, the demonstrations of the people in Europe and on other continents against war and for peace.

The powerful peace demonstrations of our people are an expression of their lofty political conscience and of their determination to act in close unity with the other peoples for disarmament, primarily for nuclear disarmament, for peace and for defending the basic right of the peoples and nations everywhere to freedom, peace and life. [applause] [end recording]

Continuing, the speaker reiterated Romania's position regarding the new international economic order, the settling of all conflicts between countries solely by political negotiations, the situation in the Middle East, the Namibian problem and increasing the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in democratically resolving problems confronting mankind and in ensuring a lasting peace on our planet.

In conclusion, after he stressed the need to strengthen solidarity and cooperation in the struggle for peace and for demilitarizing international life, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

[Begin recording] We express the firm conviction that the peoples have the power and capability to change the current trend of international life and imprint a new democratic trend on events, a trend toward detente and peace. As far as the Romanian people are concerned, they are firmly engaged in strengthening cooperation and solidarity among peoples in the noble struggle to ensure the peoples' right to existence, progress, peace and life. We are convinced that victory will be won by the people's masses, by the peoples.

Dear comrades, our plenum is called upon to adopt decisions of particular importance for Romania's socio-economic development in 1982 and to establish necessary measures aimed at unswervingly implementing the 12th party congress decisions. I have extensively referred to the problems we have to resolve in the coming period. Maybe some comrades may ask the question: Why have I voiced such criticism about certain aspects of the party and state economic activity even though we have generally achieved good results in the fatherland's development and in fulfilling the 1981 plan.

It is true that the Romanian people, under the complex international economic and social conditions and under RCP leadership, have proceeded to firmly fulfill the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The results of the first year of the current 5-year plan has set a lasting basis for our country's socioeconomic development. However, being communists and revolutionaries and proceeding from the responsibility we have toward the party, the workers class and the peoples, we cannot overlook the shortcomings in our activity. We cannot help being concerned about the noticeable self-complacency and attitude of indolence in certain cadres and party and state activists.

What I hear here and there [words indistinct] that the epoch of revolutionary romanticism has passed, that this was valid for the period of the struggle against the bourgeois-landowner regime and maybe for the first years of the completion of the revolution for social and national liberation and for the first years of socialist construction. However, now that we have achieved the forceful development of our country, now that we have travelled several historical stages in a short time, the revolutionary spirit and romanticism is not right. Maybe some people would now like to live quietly and lead a patriarchal life by greatly enjoying the achievements and results of socialism: Receiving as much as possible from society without making particular efforts and maybe even if possible without performing any work.

It is obvious that such a spirit is dangerous. It does not correspond by any means to the party's revolutionary spirit and to the traditions of the struggle waged by communists and to the current stage of the development of the comprehensively developed socialist society and transition to communism. We have still to travel a long road; we must still cover many unknown roads toward the high and bright peaks of the communist epoch. This requires a spirit of revolutionary devotion, determination, perseverance and steadfastness. We must act with great determination against everything that is obsolete to promote what is new and to ensure the revolutionary changes that are necessary for each development stage in history. I do not believe there will be a moment, even in the communist society, in which people will be able to renounce the struggle for progress and for the constant and renewing change of society and the world.

We must therefore constantly examine -- in the spirit of our revolutionary concept -- the party's activity; we must establish means of action so that the party will fulfill its role as the leading political force in our society under most favorable conditions and so that the unity of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and the unity of all our people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front under RCP leadership is strengthened. [applause]

This constitutes a guarantee for unswervingly implementing the party program and constantly improving our level of civilization and the well-being and happiness of our people and strengthening the independence and sovereignty of socialist Romania.

I want to express my full conviction that the discussions and decisions of this plenum will determine firm measures aimed at eliminating the shortcomings that are obvious in various fields of activity to improve the organizational, ideological and political-educational work, and will increase the role of communists and all party organizations in uniting the efforts by the working people with a view to unswervingly implementing the party program and the 12th party congress decisions.

Let us do all we can so that 1982, the year in which the party national conference will take place, will mark an important stage in fulfilling the 5-year plan in the country's socioeconomic development, in raising it onto new peaks of civilization and progress and in ensuring conditions for constantly improving the material and cultural living standard of our people.

Let us act so that each one at his work place will fulfill the tasks entrusted to him under most favorable conditions, thus optimally serving the cause of socialist and communist construction and the cause of the party, our nation and the people. [applause]

Let us see to it that the successes achieved by the Romanian people in socialist construction will contribute to increasing the force of socialism, to the cause of social progress and to cooperation and peace in the world. [applause] [end recording]

Party Members Dismissed

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[Text] The joint plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development, which took place under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and chairman of the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development, concluded today. The following comrades addressed the plenum on the agenda points: Petre Danica, Cornel Burtica, Gheorghe Caranfil, Ion Catrinescu, Emilian Dobrescu, Neculai Agachi, Radu Balan, Ion Patan, Ion Tesu, Gheorghe Oprea, Ilie Verdet, Nicolae Constantin, Pavel Aron and Lina Ciobanu.

The plenary session unanimously adopted the following:

1. The Draft Uniform National Socioeconomic Development Plan of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1982;
2. The draft plan on developing agriculture and food industry in 1982;
3. The draft state budget and centralized financial plan for 1982.

All these documents will be submitted for discussion and approval by the Grand National Assembly [GNA].

The plenum also unanimously adopted the program on regional self-management and self-supply to provide agricultural, animal and vegetable produce to the people for the 1982-85 period and, within this framework, the program on providing the people with agricultural products, foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in the fourth quarter of 1981 and the first half of 1982.

At the sixth point on the agenda, the plenary session examined a report on the conclusions drawn following the control carried out at the Oltenia mining combine, where it noted that large quantities of nonextracted coal had been reported as extracted and that large quantities of extracted coal were inappropriately stored and consequently deteriorated; the report also revealed other shortcomings in production. In view of the seriousness of these violations, the plenum decided:

To exclude Comrade Virgil Trofin from the RCP Central Committee and to punish him by a vote of censure and warning;

To release Comrade Nicolae Gavrilescu from his position as first secretary of the Gorj County Party Committee and to punish him by a vote of censure;

To exclude Comrade Vasile Ogherlaci from the RCP Central Committee, to release him from the position of general manager of the Oltenia Mining Committee and to punish him by a vote of censure and warning.

On the last agenda point, the plenary session unanimously adopted the following organizational measures:

Comrade Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee was released from the position of secretary of the RCP Central Committee in connection with his appointment as rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy;

Comrade Ilie Radulescu was released from his position of secretary of the RCP Central Committee in connection with his appointment as general manager of the Romanian Radio and Television.

The plenary session also confirmed the following:

The decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee concerning the release of Comrade Leonte Rautu from the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and from the position of rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy;

The election of Comrade Marin Enache to the position of secretary of the RCP Central Committee;

The promotion of the following candidate Central Committee members to full RCP Central Committee members: Constantin Crisan and Ion Tesu.

In connection with the agenda points, the plenum unanimously adopted a decision which will be published.

At the end of the plenary proceedings, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and chairman of the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development, took the floor:

[Begin recording] The discussions of our plenum as well as the previous discussions in the Working People's National Council, the Agriculture National Council and the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] have revealed the complete unanimity of the Central Committee and the bodies of our socialist democracy in assessing the results of socioeconomic development in 1981 and the tasks set for our party and people for the coming period. Our plenum and all other democratic bodies have unanimously endorsed the plan and supply program and expressed the determination to take responsible and energetic action to unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 12th party congress.

Comrades, one can state that the discussions during our plenary session -- although they covered many aspects of our activity -- have taken place in a spirit of more profound criticism and self-criticism. They showed the concern of our Central Committee to take resolute action to eliminate negative conditions, to improve activities in all fields and to increase the responsibility of communists, party bodies and organizations, the Central Committee and other party-state bodies in commendably leading the entire activity.

The meetings of working people's councils in industry and agriculture and of the SDUF National Council have revealed the determination of the respective bodies to act to increase the role of the working people's councils and management councils in all fields of activity in better resolving the complex problems of our socioeconomic development and creating conditions for the broad and active participation of the working people, beginning with the workers class, and all the people in running all fields of activity.

Therefore, one can state that the discussions in all these bodies and in the party Central Committee plenum have forcefully laid before the party and all working people the need to proceed to a better working spirit and to firmly introduce the revolutionary, workers and communists spirit in our entire activity in all fields. It was highlighted and, indeed, one could say that we have everything necessary -- from the viewpoint of the material base, equipment and technical material supply -- to commendably fulfill plan provisions.

I will refer again to the question of metals, since it is the most telling. We are producing 12 million tons of metals and processing about 6 million tons in the machine-building industry and other sectors. This means that we are processing just about half of the metal produced. Hence, we have a good metal base, more than enough to ensure proper supplies and full existing programs. This also applies to other fields of activity. The decisive factors are: the proper administration of this material base; the spirit of good management and good planning; the attainment of those material varieties we primarily need; and firm action to observe the established energy and material consumption norms.

This requires that our state bodies and the government, in its capacity as a collective body, act to better organize and plan and uniformly run the entire national economy and all socioeconomic sectors. It is necessary to always ensure strict control over the technical-material base and to resolve all problems raised by our complex national economy in a timely fashion. Comrades, I would like to stress that the problems will not diminish; on the contrary, they will increase in step with the diversification of the national economy. This requires better planning, better work organization, strict controls and the timely resolution of problems.

There is no doubt that it was much easier to resolve problems 20 years ago at the level of our economy in those days, with the small range of commodities produced then. We intend to develop new fields, the aviation field for instance; we are entering the age of nuclear energy and are developing the electronics branch. All this does not diminish our problems; on the contrary, it multiplies them, thus requiring greater responsibility and better planning and organization. I am stressing this point, comrades, because nobody should think that, after this plenum, we can relax; some may think that once the problems are discussed, the solutions will come by themselves. On the contrary, we must resolutely proceed to properly organize the entire activity and better use the available means. And I repeat, we have the necessary material base for this.

I would like to again stress now, at the end of our plenary proceedings, that we have a wonderful workers class, peasantry and intelligentsia, which have proved and are continually proving that they are capable of resolving any problem and ensuring the development of our national economy at a fast pace. On the basis of this huge force of our workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all working people, regardless of nationality, we can be confident that we will overcome existing difficulties and commendably fulfill the 1982 plan and the entire 5-year plan. [applause]

Our party organizations, communists and county committees should draw all necessary conclusions, both from the good results and from the critical and self-critical analysis that was made here at our Central Committee plenary session. I asked a number of comrades whether they are prepared to pledge before the plenum to eliminate the negative conditions. I hope that they will honor their pledges. Of course, we will have to further examine certain states of affairs in detail and to intervene where required in order to improve the organization of the respective bodies so that we can be sure that the great tasks set for party bodies and organizations are being commendably fulfilled. We have a strong party, aktiv and party committees, and I would like to again express the conviction that all party bodies and organizations will resolutely act to improve their activity and to increase the party role in organizing and leading all fields of activity.

In order to achieve this, it is necessary to instill a revolutionary, combative, exacting and responsible spirit of work in all fields. We must strengthen order and discipline everywhere, both at party and state levels. In connection with the serious violations and illegal deeds committed at the Oltenia mining combine, the plenum adopted certain organizational measures. These measures were absolutely necessary since we must put an end to such negative phenomena and must act firmly to increase everyone's responsibility in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by the party and people. We cannot just take measures against low-level cadres and absolve leading cadres of their responsibility. We cannot act according to that proverb of "Acaru Paun." [Romanian proverb indicating preferential treatment] We must understand that, in fulfilling its role as the leading political force, our party and its activists are responsible to the party and people and when they do not commendably fulfill their tasks, they must bear the necessary consequences.

This is a requirement of fulfilling the party's leading role, maintaining the revolutionary spirit of the party and strengthening its strength and unity. [applause]

I would like to stress once more that, in my opinion, the Central Committee plenary session has shown a high spirit of combativeness and responsibility. I am convinced that all Central Committee members and all comrades participating in these proceedings will take with them this spirit of combativeness and responsibility to their working places and will firmly act to instill this spirit in the entire party work.

Some foreign journalists may try to distort the proceedings of our plenum and interpret the very severe criticism and the self-critical attitude adopted at this plenum as a weakness or as proof of the fact that things are not going too well in Romania, something which has occasionally been said about us in the past. We must tell these gentlemen that if they do this they will merely prove again that they did not and do not understand the meaning of a revolutionary communist party, a party which has assumed the role of leading the Romanian people along the road of building socialism and communism and which intends to commendably fulfill this role, in close unity with the people, and to always serve the people and their well-being and happiness. [applause]

As I said in my opening speech, we could have talked about our good results, been content with some small reprimands and considered that everything is all right. Indeed, we have good results in our socioeconomic development. But then we would not have acted as revolutionaries and communists had we not adopted a resolute stand against negative conditions manifest in certain fields of activity. This does not prove the weakness of the Romanian economy or party; on the contrary, it proves the strength of our socialist economy and state and the political force of our party, which is not afraid to clearly present before the party and people both our positive and negative results, so as to find together ways and means to eliminate shortcomings and ensure our firm progress. These discussions in our plenum are an expression of the broad workers democracy of our socialist society. They express the internal democracy of our party and reflect the unswerving trust in the strength of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all our people.

Our party considers that any problem concerning our socialist society and socioeconomic life must be discussed with the entire party and all the people, so as to find together the best ways and means to ensure our march forward. This proves the superiority of socialism and the revolutionary workers democracy, in which all the people are consciously participating in shaping their own history. [applause]

I would like to express the conviction that the important decisions adopted by our Central Committee plenary session will stimulate the entire activity, will lead to greater responsibility and combativeness, will strengthen order and discipline, will increase the leading role of communists and party bodies and organizations and will strengthen ties with the masses and the unity of all the people within SDUF under the RCP political leadership. [applause]

Our plenary session and the plenary sessions of the other bodies held in previous days have proved the great trust in our own forces and the fact that we have everything required to resolve the most complex problems. Indeed, we must rely more on our cadres in all fields and on the workers class and the people; with this trust in our workers class and the people we must act to implement the party program, to raise our fatherland onto higher peaks of progress and civilization, to continuously increase the people's material and intellectual well-being, to attain the policy of disarmament and peace and to ensure Romania's active participation in international affairs. [applause]

In conclusion, I would like to again express the convictions that, once back home, all Central Committee members and all participants in this plenary session will act to implement the decisions unanimously adopted here. At the conclusion of our proceedings, from the rostrum of the party Central Committee, I would like to congratulate the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all working people for the results attained in 1981 and wish them new successes and to do everything possible to commendably fulfill the 1982 plan. [applause]

With this, I declare the plenary proceedings closed and I wish you success in all your activity and much health and happiness. [applause] [end recording]

Resolution Adopted

AU262051 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 26 Nov 81

["Resolution of Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of RCP" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Nov (AGERPRES) -- By this document, the plenum decides that the exposition of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu should be adopted as programme-like document for the activity of the entire party, of the state bodies, of all working people in the carrying through of the tasks for the next year and for the entire quinquennium.

The plenary meeting assesses in the positive the results scored in the first year of the seventy quinquennium in economy, in the development of science, education, culture, in raising the material and spiritual living standard of the people.

The plenum considered that the shortcomings and difficulties in the economic activity have some objective causes, but especially subjective causes, being determined by deficiencies in the activity of economic planning and management.

The plenary meeting highlighted the difficulties inflicted upon our national economy by the accentuation of the world economic crisis which encompassed all countries of the world, by the financial-currency situation and the mounting interest rates on an international plane, and in this connection, the necessity that the country's government, all ministries, the party bodies, mass and public organizations should take action in order to cope with the difficulties, to develop our country at high rates in the current international circumstances.

The plenary meeting debated and endorsed the 1982 plan, establishing that it should focus on increasing the crude and coal production, developing the new energy sources, cutting down the fuel and energy consumption and on the proper administration of the country's potential, as well as on increasing more the raw and auxiliary materials production.

The plenary meeting recommended that in the domain of agriculture the efforts be intensified in order to get already the next year big productions on a par with the resources of the Romanian socialist agriculture, with its technico-material base.

The plenary meeting established that in the domain of foreign trade the efforts should be intensified for the development of the collaboration within the CMEA and with other socialist countries, with a view to seeking out fresh possibilities to settle stringent economic issues, for the development of the exchanges and cooperation with all states of the world within the international division of labour. The plenary meeting appreciates that the plan stipulates the securing of the payment means for the imports of raw and auxiliary materials, for the smooth run of the productive activity. Based on the measures established, the necessary means will have to be ensured for achieving a well-balanced foreign trade, balanced payments and the starting, the next years, of the gradual liquidation of the foreign debt.

The plenum adopted the supply programme for the fourth trimester of this year and for the first half of 1982, considering that it provides the necessary quantities of products required for adequately meeting the population's consumption needs. The plenary assesses that the decision to pass to the improvement of the retail prices with a series of products next year represents a law-like demand of the good running of the economic activity, of the country's socioeconomic development.

In the spirit of worker's democracy, the plenary meeting highlights the necessity to increase the role of worker self-management bodies in all the units and institutions for the good husbanding of socialist wealth, of the efficiency of their participation in the organization and general management of production.

The plenum debated and approved the programme of territorial self-management and self-supply, appreciating that it provides for each county, for each locality, at the level of present consumptions and contingent upon the number of inhabitants, the necessary basis for meeting the population's requirements.

The plenary meeting approved the activity of the Central Committee, or the Executive Political Committee and of its Standing Bureau, of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, assessing that these bodies acted intensely for the implementation of the party resolutions, for the fulfillment of the 12th congress tasks, in accordance with the attributions incumbent on them, with the spirit and the provisions of the party programme and rules.

The plenum of the Central Committee approved the foreign policy and the international activity carried out by the RCP and the Romanian state, considering them to fully agree with the 12th congress orientations, the party programme, the entire people's supreme interests.

The plenary meeting is highly appreciative of Nicolae Ceausescu's role in the elaboration and the carrying into effect of the foreign policy of the RCP and of the Romanian state.

Expressing worry at the great accumulation of weapons on our continent, at the intentions to emplace and develop new medium-range rockets and the neutron warhead in Europe, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee considers that it is necessary for our party and state to continue their efforts for halting the emplacement and development of new rockets in Europe for the removal of the existing ones and their complete cancellation in the name of the fundamental human right to life, to quiet, security, progress, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party calls the entire people to say a resolute no to armings, to wars, to atomic weapons of any kind, to do everything for the cause of disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, for a lasting peace in Europe and in the whole world.

THOUSANDS SAID TO TAKE PART IN PEACE MARCHES

AU250935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Impressive mass demonstrations: marches for peace and disarmament which ended in meetings and civic rallies in central squares or municipal stadiums took place in most of the Romanian county seats just as in other towns and municipalities of the country, lying in the Danube or Baragan plains, on either side of the Carpathians.

The participants in these big demonstrations -- men and women, young and old, citizens of the most various professions and trades -- Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities, answering the call contained in the appeal of the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front [SDUF] launched upon President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, openly and most vigorously declared against war, against the escalation of the aberrant arms race, for general disarmament and particularly for nuclear disarmament, for security, collaboration and peace in the world. On most of the panels carried by demonstrators one could read: Disarmament-Peace, Detente-Peace, Peace and Security, Peace and Collaboration Among Peoples, "No" to the Neutron Bomb.

More than 100,000 people demonstrated in Iasi and Timisoara, over 80,000 in Arad, 70,000 in Ploiesti, Cluj-Napoca and Piatra-Neamt, 60,000 in Bacau, Brasov and Baia Mare, 50,000 in Sibiu and Satu Mare, 45,000 in Pitesti, more than 40,000 in Constanta, Slatina, Focsani, Sf. Gheorghe, Drobeta-Turnu Severin.

Marches followed by meetings and civil rallies took place in 31 out of the 40 counties of the country up to now. They were attended by over 1,268,000 people. Representatives of the respective counties were designated to the big rally for peace due to be held in Romania's capital.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITICAL PLATFORM

LD250000 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 24 Nov 81

["Political Platform for LCY Action in the Development of Socialist Self-Management, Brotherhood, Unity and Community in Kosovo" -- TANJUG headline: Romanian numerals and subheads as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Nov (TANJUG) -- This document is aimed at the LCY membership in general, in particular (?in Kosovo), as the action of all organized socialist forces to consolidate and continue to develop socialist self-management and togetherness in Kosovo. With the views set out in this platform, the LCY Central Committee is addressing all working people and citizens, as well as those individuals who as a result of circumstances were in the wave of hostile events but who do not essentially hold a hostile stance vis-a-vis our socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

The platform concentrates on the long-term tasks of organized socialist forces. It deepens and expands the explanation of the assessments of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo produced by the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, the action program of the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee, and the relevant state organs in the federation, republics and provinces.

The platform discusses some of the causes of the events and the serious lessons which the League of Communists has learned from these events; an analysis is presented of the counterrevolutionary content of the slogan "A Republic for Kosovo" and of the sense of other hostile and irredentist activities; it also discusses the results of economic development in Kosovo up to now, as well as the prospects for that development; some negative experiences of the leadership and of the League of Communists in connection with the manifestations of nationalism in Kosovo are summed up and an indication is given of ways and means of more successful realization of the community in the everyday life of the nations and nationalities of Kosovo. The platform discusses problems of the lack of sufficient development of self-management in Kosovo as the basic and crucial conditions of the development of national equality and community, as well as of democratic and socialist relations in our society.

This document does not exhaust all the topical and long-term issues. The united and clear assessments and stances of the LCY on the most significant issues of the moment in Kosovo should contribute to efforts by the League of Communists of the whole country in helping the intensive political activity which is being carried out in Kosovo.

The experiences and lessons, as well as the analysis of weaknesses in the work of organized socialist forces and leaderships in Kosovo, affect the whole of the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations and their leaderships, as well as those of self-management and state organs.

In very complex and exacerbated international relations it is the joint concern of all working people and citizens and all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia to continue to develop comprehensively Yugoslavia's activity aimed at strengthening international cooperation, consolidating peace and international security, and strengthening the independence, sovereignty and nonaligned position of the SFRY. Only in an independent and nonaligned socialist Yugoslavia can we continue to develop without hindrance our multinational community, developing and strengthening the system of socialist self-management, the brotherhood, unity and equality of nations and nationalities, while carrying out constant economic, social and cultural progress. Such development is the most important factor of the constant consolidation of our country's independence and security.

The LCY Central Committee considers such an objective reality at the present time a starting point for the whole of the ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists and all socialist forces, both at home and in the international sphere.

The worrying development of the international political and economic situation, and the increasingly dangerous confrontation between the big powers and military-political blocs around spheres of interest and influence, accompanied by the arms race, the threat and use of force, military interventions and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of individual countries, cause increasing deterioration and tension in international relations. Our country must take account of these circumstances and must be ready at any time to confront any trials and dangers.

We must bear all of this in mind when we approach the problems of stabilizing the political situation and the continued development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, where counterrevolutionary, irredentist and nationalistic elements tried to disturb the province's normal life in March and April of this year.

As always, our country is united and resolved, as a free and independent community, to defend its integrity, the gains of the revolution and the gains of socialist development by using the strengths and means which are at our disposal according to the methods which the enemy uses.

The Yugoslav public's concern over the situation which was caused by the hostile activity in Kosovo is quite understandable, particularly in view of the enemy's counterrevolutionary aims and aggressiveness; his level of organization, preparedness and links with outside factors; and his attempt to change our social and political system by force in an antisocialist, antiself-management and antidemocratic sense. The vandalism of those taking part reached such a level that our system of socialist self-management democracy exhausted its political means and had to use suitable measures to defend itself from such force.

No patriotic or progressive person, not just in Yugoslavia, can accept either an internal or external attack on the integrity of socialist self-management and nonaligned Yugoslavia, nor can he expect Yugoslavia's denial of its revolutionary gains or the inviolability of its territory. At the same time, the counter-revolutionary activity was a blow against the revolutionary achievements of the Albanian nationality and of the other nations and nationalities in Kosovo who have achieved the greatest social transformation in their history in the revolution and in socialist construction.

Taking advantage of the complexity and contradictory nature of the internal situation in Kosovo (relative underdevelopment, small number of working class, economic difficulties, the problem of unemployment and insufficient development of socialist self-management relations) with strong support from foreign centers, the enemy waged a struggle for the forcible destruction of the constitutional order and constitutional relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. His intentions were exposed immediately through the antisocialist slogans, leaflets, aggressiveness, irresponsible destructive actions, reference to the system, ideology and character of a foreign state, open demands to break up Yugoslavia, in a word, demands for the forcible separation of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

Acting in an organized and perfidious way over a long period, in the absence of resolute resistance by organized socialist forces the enemy succeeded in causing a crisis of conscience and [word indistinct] -- especially in certain sections of the intelligentsia with students. He also succeeded in leading people astray with nationalistic slogans and mobilizing a number of citizens and young people of Albanian nationality in Kosovo. The consequences of such activity on political life in Kosovo and in the whole of our country are deep, both in the internal political and economic and in the international sphere.

Such events were made possible mostly because of the concessions which the League of Communists and other political factors made to the nationalistic and irredentist forces over quite a long period and because nationalism had penetrated into the ranks of the League of Communists in the leadership. Parts of the Kosovo League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, and other organizations, and parts of their leaderships withdrew under pressure of internal counterrevolution. During the actual events they did not behave decisively and combatively.

Although the enemy's room for activity has been narrowed now, primarily as a result of political mobilization by the progressive forces in Kosovo, his readiness for action and his resolve continue to manifest themselves. We continue to be confronted with persistent attempts to undermine the unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, with efforts to instill hatred in the Albanian people toward the Serbs, Montenegrins, and other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and even with the threat of armed force.

In the whole of our country, particularly in Kosovo, the past events are discussed openly and critically. The severity of criticism is only a sign of the seriousness of the problem and the depth of conflict which arose. The League of Communists, the entire Yugoslav society and all organized socialist forces are obliged and called upon to bravely confront the essence and the causes of the events. We must ask what political realities are being expressed by the events which took place and why they took place. How was it possible that what happened in Kosovo could take place in a democratic and self-management society? What was it caused by?

First, this was possible because in our society, and around it, there are still nationalistic and other reactionary forces and tendencies which revive from time to time in crises or critical situation. This time the enemy was encouraged by the economic difficulties in Yugoslavia, the consequences of which are even more serious in Kosovo. The deterioration of the international situation and of contradictions also plays its part in this. The enemy had a mistaken assessment of political circumstances in Yugoslavia directly after Tito's death.

Second, there is the matter of the policy of the Kosovo leadership which in recent years objectively opened up room for activity by nationalism in Kosovo and did not permit the drawing of a clear boundary between our orientation and that of the nationalists, between our slogans and the enemy's.

The Kosovo leadership's policy was oriented first and foremost toward a struggle to gain the greatest possible resources on the basis of special rights arising from Kosovo's underdevelopment. The emphasis was not on relying on one's own strengths and realizing interests through an increase in community feeling with all other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia so that all of them could develop as quickly as possible.

There were a considerable number of voluntarist and unrealistic demands in the policy of the leadership, hence the frequent discrepancy between the attitudes of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and LCY Central Committee. In a number of circumstances, especially with regard to development plans and the amounts of money for the development of Kosovo, this discrepancy reached a high point. The leadership of Kosovo submitted the thesis that Kosovo was lagging behind because it was receiving small amounts of money. It sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium in which it expressed its dissatisfaction with the already concluded agreement between the republics and the provinces on the social plan for Yugoslavia for the period from 1980-1985. It also "threatened" to publicize the protest and its dissatisfaction within the rank and file of the League of Communists of Kosovo. In this way dissatisfaction was created among the cadres, which provided a basis for its spread in the masses. Unrealistic demands created room for the activities of the nationalists, to whom nothing is ever sufficient and whose demands are unlimited.

These were the signs which threatened the unity of the LCY and thus also threatened Yugoslavia, because it is in the interest of all that we should develop evenly and that the least developed should develop more rapidly, primarily on the basis of common long term interests and not only on the basis of some "special right."

Third, in Kosovo society changed its structure radically and rapidly in the postwar period. Erroneous appraisals of the situation in society, unbridled trends and the policy of the development of Kosovo manifested themselves in the League of Communists. Difficulties which manifested themselves with regard to jobs for young people were, in effect, the consequence of rapid development and social transformation, the sudden class transformation of the countryside and the very rapid development of education and the university on one hand and on the other hand of the economy's still insufficient capacity for creating enough jobs to absorb such large numbers of newly arrived workers.

It is no accident that the highest number of participants in the demonstrations and of those who carried enemy slogans came from the ranks of the young (students and pupils) and from a section of the intelligentsia, especially as hostile indoctrination had had a broad area opened to it and parts of the leadership itself were affected by nationalism.

Fourth, Kosovo's isolationism in the economic and political sense, which is a phenomenon that manifests itself on a large scale in the country, manifested itself both toward the Socialist Republic of Serbia and toward Yugoslavia. In fact nationalism encouraged isolationism, which provided fertile soil for the "Kosovo Republic" slogan.

It is logical to say that the central question is the struggle against nationalism, accompanied by the simultaneous provision and consolidation of the national rights of the nations and nationalities in keeping with the constitution. The affirmation of the Albanian nationality and its comprehensive development in Yugoslavia as well as the protection and strengthening of the rights of its members can be achieved only in socialist self-managing togetherness with the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY and not through isolationism and through growing further apart from these communities.

Five, the development of the bureaucratic-technocratic relationship, instead of self-management, in associated labor, the local communities, in municipalities and in the province as a whole was the result not only of the centralist distribution of the resources received as aid, but also of the view of the leadership that underdevelopment was the reason why self-management was developing more slowly.

This view ran counter to the attitude that underdevelopment was yet another reason why the broadest masses should be mobilized and their initiative allowed to develop and why self-management should be developed as fully as possible, not only in work organizations but also in the province as a whole, so that all the citizens could be involved so that the public would be familiar with the real possibilities of society.

In cadre policy certain vital criteria were not observed or were weakened. The corresponding class structure and the moral-political qualities and consistency in the struggle for the implementation of the policy and program of the League of Communists were not consistently present in the basis of cadre policy. Favoritism and the monopoly of individuals and groups in the carrying out of cadre policy manifested themselves in the League of Communists and in other organs and organizations. The legitimate organs and bodies were in most cases consulted only for appearances' sake.

So what happened in Kosovo need not have happened if the wrong policy had not been pursued because the Albanian nationality lives in conditions of equality. The material and sociopolitical development of the province is being realized successfully and, in accordance with the constitution the socialist autonomous provinces, within the framework of both the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY, have all the rights and responsibilities concerning the broadening of fraternal togetherness and equality of the members of all the nations and nationalities.

The need for and necessity of living together in Kosovo in a free democratic society represent the historical experience of the nations and nationalities of the area. In Kosovo, as everywhere in Yugoslavia, the fascist occupiers and their collaborators enslaved, divided and destroyed the population of the Albanian and other nationalities and nations. However, because of the national liberation movement and the role of the Yugoslav Communist Party, they failed to provoke Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Muslims to a fratricidal war. The awareness of the historical interdependence of all the nations and nationalities living in Kosovo was and remains deeply rooted. During Stalin's time and the Cominform when, among others, the AWP leadership and the Government of Albania were waging a violent campaign against the Yugoslav Communist Party and socialist Yugoslavia and when various subversion agents were being smuggled into the country, communists and nations and nationalities of Kosovo resolutely stood in defense of the gains of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution. The number of renegades among Albanians and other nationalities among communists in Kosovo was relatively low.

It is our great duty to carry out a consistent critical analysis of the political orientation and political mistakes which manifested themselves in Kosovo in recent years, bearing in mind the fact that the leadership of Kosovo was to blame most for the situation thus created. Also to blame are the leaderships of the Leagues of Communists of Serbia and Yugoslavia for failing to realize more quickly what was happening in Kosovo and to take steps in that connection sooner and more resolutely. Only by an open, thorough and precise critical political analysis of the political orientation and of the mistakes made is it possible on a long-term basis to ensure that the working people become active in the struggle against nationalism and irredentism.

It is not by chance that Yugoslavia is such as it is today. It has deep roots in the common historical destiny of its nations and nationalities and in the common liberation struggle and revolution. Economic, political and other socio-historical interests link the nations and nationalities into one state and social community. The consciousness of the necessity of this was formed through the long history of common life on the same geographical territory and through the difficult struggle in the revolution and construction, which is also the struggle of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo. The consciousness of community has penetrated so widely that we may say that neither the 20 prewar years of domination of capitalist relations and exploitation, nor the rule of the bourgeoisie, in which the greater-Serbian bourgeoisie was dominant, nor the fascist aggressors and the traitors at home during the national liberation war, were able to break the ties between the adherents of each nation and nationality. Brotherhood and unity were consolidated in the national liberation struggle as well as in postwar socialist construction. This community is increasingly strengthening and deepening on the bases of equality. Recollections of the former monarchist and hegemonist Yugoslavia, against which all our nations and nationalities fought in the revolution, rising up simultaneously for liberation from the occupying forces, and recollections of the exterminations of individual nations and nationalities carried out by the reactionary and fascist aggressors, together with traitors at home, are too fresh and grave a lesson.

The events in Kosovo are just one more warning for the LCY that nationalism always negates the socialist revolution and jeopardizes it. All progressive forces in the country must together with the LCY learn the lesson that no form of nationalism, whether particularist and separatist, or centralist and unitaristic, should be underestimated or (?concealed). Manifestations of inequality, pushing through of decisions, statist monopolies, and of artificial separation of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia must not be concealed, either.

During the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, nationalism and irredentism did not even hide behind lying slogans, nor did they conceal their links with foreign partners. The enemy's assault, his degree of organization and persistence, the variety of ideological and political forces (Albanian Stalinists and irredentists, former Balists, Ustashas) who were united in this action against us, suggests that a long term [word indistinct] is involved. We must adapt our actions to this long term concept, to the stubbornness and degree of organization on the part of the enemy.

Every type of opportunism, retreat and capitulation under the pressure of the enemies of socialism and of the self-managing socialist community of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, would be in contradiction to the foundations, consistency and goals of our revolution.

II. Lessons and Experiences Gained by the League of Communists From the Events in Kosovo

In connection with the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo demonstrated a critical attitude to the political activity and responsibility of organizations of the League of Communists in Kosovo, as well as to the work and level of responsibility of leading people. The joint position is that the leading socialist forces in Kosovo did not demonstrate in good time the necessary degree of organization, purposefulness and genuine political action demanded by the nature and consequences of the events.

We cite with good reason the esteem and leading role of the League of Communists, but in Kosovo both before and during the hostile events the league was considerably weakened. Many members of the League of Communists were unprepared for political action in such complex circumstances. For the last 10 years bureaucratic methods, a lack of breadth and personal initiative in work, and an absence of democracy in relations were strongly pronounced in the work of the League of Communists. This weakened the unity of action, and the trade unions were considerably distanced from working people. It is not far from the truth to say that the League of Communists was distanced from them, too. In the work of the Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Socialist Youth there was a lot of formalism with no genuine links with young people, working people and citizens.

The erroneous political assessment of the events which the leadership of the province gave at the start caused the greatest confusion in the ranks of the sociopolitical forces. The (?difference) lay in this: whether the demonstrations are of an economic or political nature; who are the organizers and factors of hostile manifestations and slogans; does organized action and interference on the part of the AWP exist. To start with information was even put out to the effect that students from other republics were the noisiest in the demonstrations. This is one of the reasons why the Kosovo League of Communists was slow to get out of this opportunist position.

In spite of all difficulties, recently perceptible results have been attained in the working peoples' struggle against the enemy. In the situation newly arisen in Kosovo, political work is having some success, especially among working people. The Kosovo League of Communists has undertaken organized action to develop political work in the masses, to expose hostile aims, to train and galvanize self-management organs, to promote political mobilization of the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations, to carry out cadre training of the appropriate sociopolitical organizations and institutions. Particular attention has been devoted to the tasks of economic stabilization.

The Federation of Socialist Youth has stimulated the activity of its organizations. Kosovo young people responded in large numbers to work actions and their activity is becoming increasingly noticeable, as is the activity of the Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist Alliance. It should be emphasized that the Federation of Veterans played an important political role from the first day of the hostile events. At the university and in secondary schools, however, the League of Communists showed less self-criticism and initiative, even though it was known what influence the enemy wielded among one section of that young generation.

The LCY insists upon breadth of action and standard criteria with regard to the decisiveness (?and) intensity of action. Involved here are the consequences which the events have upon Yugoslavia's stability, upon its internal development, upon its international esteem, upon the trust between the nations and nationalities of Kosovo. It is therefore extremely important to evaluate the directions of actions which will open the path toward profound changes in the social and political situation created by the attempt at counterrevolution. It is our aim to ensure by ideopolitical action and persistent struggle that the largest possible number are in the mainstream of the revolution.

Political responsibility by communists, particularly in leading positions, has been and remains a deep moral and political need. Collective responsibility cannot replace individual responsibility, criticism and self-criticism. In the struggle to carry out the unity of the League of Communists, differentiation takes place. A great danger for the revolutionary social role of the League of Communists is [word indistinct] adaptation and unprincipled yielding to an out of date consciousness, momentary interests, dispositions or pressures, with the excuse that this is necessary in order to link communists, or the leadership, with the people. [sentence indistinct] Lack of consistency and politicking cannot be the characteristic of the League of Communists as a revolutionary organization.

Socialist society needs its democratic system, self-management, sociopolitical and other social organizations, above all in order to free itself of the monopoly of the power of individuals or groups which arise and are maintained separate from the real interests

of the working man. The LCY program says that the League of Communists must know how to link with its grass roots and must understand the interests of the broad working masses, as well as being able to see further than them and influence their thought and action.

The events in Kosovo demonstrated clearly that constant and firm linking between communists and working people, citizens and young people was lacking, and this was expressed in the poor work of the Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Youth Federation. If there is no lively activity by the Socialist Alliance, a person cannot be a subject of sociopolitical life -- the planning and development of work organizations and social communities -- and also there can be no agreement between people. The League of Communists, regardless of how numerous it is, cannot replace the Socialist Alliance and other mass political organizations.

The lack of development of self-management, the chaos and absence of real communication between the leadership and basic cells of society necessarily lead to arbitrariness, the formation of autocratic societies, disorientation and vacillation by the masses. Because of this the Kosovo League of Communists must aim consistently at the greatest possible collective practice in decision-making, and the democratization of social life in general, especially on the matter of the long-term interests of the working class.

Under the label of "national" and "regional" interests the egoism of various interests is often expressed in our country, and in Kosovo this offered the opportunity to hostile forces to expand their activity and gain allies. In the example of Kosovo it was shown once again that this ally rapidly turns into a master, and parts of the League of Communists, and of other organized social forces, become the tail instead of the leader. As the events in Kosovo demonstrated, the League of Communists' lack of action in a conflict situation has a negative effect on the whole of the social situation.

Experiences of those events warned of many serious problems both in the League of Communists as a whole and in other organized socialist forces. Political vacillation and disorientation in the ranks of progressive socialist forces always open up room for penetration by the enemy. The most responsible factors in the Kosovo League of Communists underestimated the forces alien to socialism and self-management, which had been multiplying quite a lot and weakening the creative social role of the masses, poisoning their consciousness, particularly among young people and the League of Communists. Because of this the League of Communists was not prepared in a very complex situation, created by demonstrations, to play the necessary political role, which had a negative effect on the behavior of Socialist Alliance organizations and the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth Federation and other organized socialist forces.

In our system there are many subjects of social consciousness, democratic relations have developed, people are organized in many ways and are involved in self-management, they work, they express their disagreement and dissatisfaction, and delegate assemblies and numerous social organs act and decide autonomously. In all this the League of Communists must be present and active and must respect the self-management system and act within it in a united way, otherwise it will risk handing over the terrain to other forces, which is confirmed by the events in Kosovo.

During the time of nationalism, the "mass movement," [word indistinct], liberalism and prior to the events in Kosovo there was talk about a good political situation and the strong linking between the leadership and the grass roots. The linking between the leadership and the grass roots is very significant and decisive for political action. But the basis on which the linking between the leadership and grass roots takes place is essential. If it is carried out on the bases of socialist self-management democracy and the direction of its continued development then this linking can, of course, be fruitful and long-term. But if it is carried out while tolerating nationalism or on other political speculations of hostile political programs in the absence of criticism, then this "linking" between the leadership and grass roots can only stimulate hostile activity, have a negative political effect on some of the masses and serve counter-revolution.

Unfortunately nationalism has eaten into the consciousness of some of the young people of Albanian nationality, as well as others in Kosovo, in the ideological, political, psychological, cultural and emotional sense. Much persistence will be needed for these young people to be shown that they were wrong, that is, [word indistinct] it is in the vital interest of the nation to which they belong to prevent hatred and to stigmatize it. The generation of young Albanians in Kosovo knows little about the bitter prehistory, the dark, fascist nature of irredentism and nationalism, the sacrifices which were made in the revolution for brotherhood and unity and for socialism. The enemy tried to deny in a crude way those shining (?pages) in the relations between the nations and nationalities of this region. The destructive effect of the nationalistic euphoria in Kosovo raised a series of new questions and problems and caused disagreements and instances of distrust between the nations and nationalities.

Such a situation is historically and politically totally unnatural. Who but young people sincerely thirst in their hearts for freedom and burn with readiness to fight for a better future for their people. Who but young people have yearned for self-managing social relations and for human relations between people. All this is incompatible with nationalist hatred and prejudices. Young peoples' readiness for work, creativity and sacrifices should be orientated in the direction of the socialist self-managing future of Kosovo and Yugoslavia, and of the equal community of all our nations and nationalities. This section of young people must be freed from the grip of political enemies, careerists and nationalists. Young people must speak freely according to their conviction, must have courage, must love freedom and defend the truth, human and democratic relations between people and must defend the brotherhood and unity of nations and nationalities. All this is incompatible with nationalism and irredentism.

This country is independent and free because of the courage, consistency, mobility and moral purity of individuals, nations and nationalities who in the most difficult circumstances of war and revolution were ready for any sacrifice. There was no time during the war or after it which was so difficult that it prevented our urge to maintain our orientation, despite all difficulties and pressures. We remained alone. We were slandered and deprived of all support. But we remained steadfast and firm.

For everyone in Kosovo, for Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims and Turks, above all for young people, the safeguarding and development of the brotherhood and unity and equality made into reality by the popular revolution and socialist development are their heritage, a lofty goal and a permanent task. All the revolutionary forces of Yugoslavia are faced with the great obligation not only to preserve that reality and idea in the consciousness and life of all working people but constantly to confirm it and make it more profound.

III. The Development of Intranational Relations in Kosovo on the Bases of Socialist Self-Management

The nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia have for centuries struggled to maintain their existence, to achieve the social conditions which will facilitate their all-round and free development. In this struggle there have always been in every nation and nationality socialist forces who have proceeded in step with time and in step with progressive democratic social development.

Both progressive and retrogressive forces of a nation and nationality have sought allies in corresponding forces of other nations and nationalities. Many external, selfish and exploiting interests on the part of the reactionary forces of the great powers have been founded in intranational partitions and negations of small peoples. The divisiveness and clashes between lesser powers have whetted the appetites and increased the actions of hegemonists of all hues.

As a result of the complex and contradictory historical development, as a result of many difficult and lengthy liberation struggles for national existence, a large number of small national communities has arisen on today's Yugoslav soil. Despite all differences, national characteristics and particular interests, historical circumstances have imposed these nations and nationalities many common social needs, many forms of dependence one upon the other, many ways and methods of common life. Numerous political, historical and other grounds have conditioned the mixed composition of the population in the majority of regions in our country. Since adherents of various nations, not only as individuals but also as national collectives, have found themselves together with sections of other nations on common ground, they were in a situation to share a common historical destiny.

The Albanian people gained their independence in comparatively very difficult conditions. In the national movement of the Albanian people -- as with the majority of Balkan peoples -- in the course of the last 100 or so years there has developed amongst nationalists the mistake of "greater Albania," "greater Bulgaria," as well as the mistake of "greater Serbia," "greater Montenegro," "greater Croatia" and the like. This mistake about nationalistic encirclement and expansion at the expense of other, equally small peoples who live together, also exists today in the consciousness and activities of nationalists and chauvinists among other peoples. Conservative forces, which grow up on bureaucratic exclusiveness, seek reasons for their survival also in adventurist claims upon the territory of neighboring countries.

Fascist Germany and Italy and their allies in Kosovo (Balists and other profascist and reactionary forces) inflamed the dream of greater Albania in the ranks of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo as well. They formed the so-called greater Albania under the Italian fascist occupation in which they included Kosovo, although Kosovo itself was divided between the three fascist occupiers (Germany, Italy and Bulgaria).

The national liberation movement and revolution in Kosovo had to overcome as their most grievous enemies nationalism and whipping up of hatred between the Albanian and other nations and nationalities. Hostile activity of this type, so to speak, has not ceased since the liberation on the part of remnants of the fascist forces, collaborators with the occupier and Balists. Later they were joined by Cominformists as patrons of Stalinist dogmatism, by the relics of the class enemy and others. Thus linked together they represented a nationalistic alliance in which all opposition forces were gathered together. Hence we have had the uninterrupted presence of organized illegal action on the part of Albanian irredentists, in particular in the last decade and in a certain sense in the entire postwar period, particularly since the clashes with the Cominform.

Facts about intranational relations in old Yugoslavia are well-known. The Serbian bourgeoisie, as is well-known from history and in particular from the Marxist analyses of Dimitrije Tucovic and other Serbian socialists and communists, wished to subjugate Albania in order to prevent the formation of Albania's own state, so as to get an "exit to the sea" across Albanian soil, in old Yugoslavia the Albanian language was forbidden in education and public administration and a policy of oppression and denationalization was pursued against Albanians.

From its very first day the Yugoslav revolution had a liberation character in both the national and social sense. The real class and national struggle for emancipation was started by the Yugoslav Communist Party between the two wars and was carried through to victory during the liberation war. Much was done to achieve equality after the liberation, which was the beginning of the great historical progress of the Albanian nationality and other nations and nationalities of Kosovo.

This was the kind of progress which amounted to an entire rebirth and ranged from daily life and customs to culture and the economy; progress which could previously not be achieved for centuries.

The progressive forces and communists of Kosovo accepted the policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party as their own from the very start and developed their revolutionary, political, ideological and organizational activity. The history of the revolutionary movement in Kosovo is the history of the struggle for the closest cooperation between the Albanians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Moslems and Turks who live together in Kosovo.

The workers' revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia and Serbia has for a long time fought for a pure and principled attitude on the national question, including the attitude on the equal position of Albanians and against the hegemonist aspirations of the greater-Serbian bourgeoisie. The Serbian socialists -- Svetozar Markovic, Dimitrije Tucovic and other socialists -- wrote and struggled in this spirit more than a century ago and this line was taken over and developed by communists in Yugoslavia and Serbia. A consistent struggle has been waged for decades for the policy of equality, against hegemony and oppression, especially since the consolidation of the party under Tito's leadership.

World War II was a cruel lesson. The occupiers and their collaborators carried out genocide and exterminated complete groups of individual nations and nationalities. Proceeding from the vital significance of the national question, the Yugoslav Communist Party settled this question in a revolutionary manner, by carrying out the policy of brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia. In the difficult conditions of the fascist occupation, Albanians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Moslems, Turks and others waged the liberation struggle and, in the spirit of the revolutionary traditions of our movement, built the new relations of the brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Kosovo, which lived and live together. These historical facts are of enormous importance for the future of all the people of Kosovo.

The Settling of the National Question in Socialist Yugoslavia

The foundations for the strategy for the settling of the national question in Yugoslavia, were laid by the Yugoslav Communist Party, which relied on its own earlier principled and Marxist attitudes and tradition, at the time of its own acquisition of independence and consolidation under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. This particularly manifested itself at the Fifth Conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1940. This, among other things, made possible the successful preparation, organization and conduct of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, opposition to fratricidal war, and realization of the policy of brotherhood and unity. This concept was given its decisive formulation in the decisions of the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] in 1943 through the liberation and revolutionary struggle of our nations and nationalities.

The establishment and development of national equality was one of the fundamental goals of the Yugoslav revolution. The principle concerning the "right of every nation to self-determination, including the right to secede or to be united with other nations" was expressed at the second session of AVNOJ. New Yugoslavia was established as a "democratic state based on the federal principle as a state community of equal nations." AVNOJ categorically stated in 1943 that the national minorities would have all the rights in new Yugoslavia. This was one of the first principles of the new community and state of Yugoslav nations and nationalities [words indistinct].

This principle was based on the full national equality of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, liquidation of the division of the people, as a whole, or of its parts, into those who rule and those who are subordinate. This meant the liquidation of every form of national inequality or discrimination based on national divisions.

The second cornerstone, of new Yugoslavia was the principle of political unity, independence and territorial integrity of the federal state of Yugoslavia.

The principle of national self-determination from the beginning and during the armed revolution "fundamentally covered the voluntariness of the unification and the state position and sovereignty of the people and its republics within the framework of the Yugoslav state community." By opting for revolution and the federal system, the Yugoslav Communist Party resolutely stated that it recognized neither the defeat nor the dismemberment of Yugoslavia.

The decisions of anti-facist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia and later the constitutions ensure the full national freedom and equality of the nationalities in Yugoslavia in the political, economic, cultural and every other sphere. The creation of the autonomous provinces demonstrates that particular attention was paid to the characteristic features of individual territories, their ethnic structure, their historical and other traditions and their economic and geographical situation.

Among the basic reasons for the creation and development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as a sociopolitical community, which in the context of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is a constituent element of Yugoslav socialist federalism were: certain historical, cultural and language characteristics; the large number of members of different nationalities living together in these areas with members and parts of other nations of Yugoslavia; characteristic features in the level and structure of economic development and so forth. During the liberation war and the revolution there arose a unified revolutionary subject as the legitimate political exponent of the social interests of all progressive people, the entire population and members of all the nations and nationalities. These unified subjects were expressed in the highest representative organs of people's power, on the basis of the freely-expressed will of the population, the nations and nationalities in the province, and the freely-expressed will of the people of Serbia. They adopted a decision on the future joint life in the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The realization of the policy of national rights and interests for all nationalities of Yugoslavia was developed during the national liberation struggle and continued after the liberation. According to the possibilities of that time, this was done in all spheres of social life. In Kosovo and Metohija, complex and significant sociopolitical activity is developing in the autonomous region. Account is taken of the representation of the Albanian nationality and other nationalities in organs of power and leaderships of sociopolitical organizations. For example, basic and middle schools and courses in the Albanian language were started. At the start of the 1960's the first faculties at which the teaching took place in Albanian were founded.

Although many aspects of satisfying the particular national rights and needs were carried out, their realization was nevertheless slower than expected in our movement's program and burdened with the negative consequences of bureaucratic centralism and unitarism.

At the Fourth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee (1966) barriers were eliminated and new conditions were created for the development of national equality in all of Yugoslavia, particularly in Kosovo. In principle, this attitude had previously been set out and established in the LCY program and in the Yugoslav Constitution. However, in practice there was not only delay in carrying out national equality, but also abuses and deformation.

The communists of Yugoslavia settled their scores with bureaucratic and unitarist tendencies in a radical way. The communists of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo decisively eliminated the barriers to the continued development of self-management and, on this basis, they achieved great results in the constant development of national equality. The Albanians in Kosovo were then limited in the full realization of their national rights but instances of usurping of democratic and self-management rights also existed in other parts of the country. The communists of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as well as communists from the entire country, carrying out the decisions of the Fourth LCY Central Committee Plenum, waged a consistent struggle against bureaucratic-centralist and unitarist methods.

Socialist Self-Management -- the Basis of National Equality and Unity

With the development of Yugoslavia, the preconditions for the adopted principles of national equality to be implemented as consistently and completely as possible and the conditions for them to achieve an increasingly deep and comprehensive socialist social content were realized. Such a great historical chance was created by self-management. For the first time, it offered the possibility for the working class of a multinational community to solve on the principle of real and complete national equality, the issue of the disposal of the "national surplus of labor." The right to every nation and nationality and their working class, according to the [word indistinct] of the constitutional system, to manage the income made in that community was ensured. This equitable social position was ensured for the members of all the nations and nationalities so that in all sociopolitical communities, from the municipality and basic self-management communities, they realize their self-management rights (guaranteed in the constitution and laws to the members of nations and nationalities) and carry out responsible positions in them on the basis of the constitution and law. This was something unprecedented for national equality in history. We do not know of another federation and social system which can be compared with ours in this respect.

With the development of socialist relations on the basis of self-management and the suitable evolution of national equality in all spheres of social life, the socialist autonomous provinces have -- on the basis of the SFRY Constitution, the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitutions of the socialist autonomous provinces -- enriched the content of their autonomy politically, socially, economically and culturally.

Members of the nationalities are in all ways completely equal with the members of the nations. With a view to the comprehensive development of equality between the nations and nationalities the LCY Central Committee Executive Committee in 1959 adopted "Conclusions on Questions of the National Minorities". The realization of these conclusions in the years afterward contributed to the promotion of their position, role, rights and responsibilities. At this time consciousness of the stances on the need to change the title "national minority" was maturing. As an expression of the change and development of the social nature of national equality and the social position of the nationalities in conditions of socialist self-management, a title for the nationalities instead of "national minority" was established in the 1963 constitution. The new title expresses the practice and stance of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia in not reducing national rights of the nationalities to classical minority rights (in culture, education and so forth), as is generally the case in nearly all other states, where some democratic rights of national minorities are guaranteed. Members of the national minorities, on whose initiative the change came about, thereby expressed this even more, confirming and emphasizing that they belong to the country and community in which they live.

Members of the nationalities, as working people and citizens, have the same rights as members of the nations in the election of delegates to all organs of power, to all sociopolitical organizations in municipalities, provinces, the republic and the federation. Representatives of the socialist autonomous provinces and of the socialist republics are elected to the post of President of the SFRY Presidency. In decisionmaking about the basic issues of the social system and constitutional system of the SFRY the provinces have the same rights, duties and obligations as the republics. The socialist autonomous provinces decide in a sovereign way on their own economic development. Workers in organizations of associated labor decide on the fate of the income which is realized in them, just as in the whole of Yugoslavia. The socialist autonomous provinces have their constitutions, laws and regulations, they have their own organs, legal bodies and institutions, just as the socialist republics do. In the provinces there are universities at which teaching takes place in the languages of the nationalities. The socialist autonomous provinces are particular, broad sociopolitical communities, at the same time as being within the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a constituent element of Yugoslav socialist federalism.

Under conditions of socialist self-management there arose a new period of LCY policy and practice and of all socialist forces in the development of the nations, nationalities and intranational relations. The 1958 LCY program the 8th, 10th and 11th LCY congresses, and the constitutional system established in 1974 formulated a comprehensive policy for the development of national equality, brotherhood and unity and cooperation on equitable, socialist self-management bases. Social experiences, which arose in the revolutionary practice of this time, demonstrated that the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia can maintain and develop comprehensively only together, and on the bases of equality.

Such a political and constitutionally (?just) solution to the problem of the nationalities, that is, the problem of their national equality in Yugoslavia, represents the highest achievement of social practice and constitutional legal guarantees which are well-known in the world today. The long-term significance of these solutions can be seen only in the context of the fruits and possibilities which self-management offers, for in it the basis of national equality is formed by total social and economic equality between people, at the workplace and in every socio-political community. Our achievements in the realization of particular and joint interests of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia are [word indistinct] a confirmation of the vitality of the self-management path of socialist development.

The overall balance of the socioeconomic development of Kosovo from 1945 to today demonstrates that this province experienced an epochal transformation and progress. Facts about the development of the economy, the living standard, education, culture, science, sport, publishing activity, of the Albanian and the other nations and nationalities, present a picture of dynamic and creative socialist development, a picture of rich socioeconomic, political and cultural reality which is not well-known enough in the world or in our country either.

Because of all this the nationalistic and irredentist counterrevolutionary activities and tendencies in Kosovo are both subjectively and objectively opposed to the real interests of the Albanians in Kosovo and in the whole of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and in other parts of Yugoslavia, as working people and citizens, and as members of the special multinational community in Yugoslavia.

However, the slow development of self-management retarded the process of national affirmation and the more rapid development of community between the nations and nationalities of Kosovo. The lack of development of self-management similarly retarded the necessary natural and self-management linking between the Kosovo economy and the economy of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia as a whole. Particularly harmful was the autarchic attitude of individuals and groups under the slogan "We and The People," who in fact decide on behalf of all factors of the social system and all working people, by-passing in practice self-management organizations and institutions. Bureaucratic verbalism about self-management was often the cover for various forms of self-will and statism.

In environment in which members of the nations and nationalities live together, as in Kosovo, their interests and relations in our self-management system must (?be solved) jointly, in the local communities, the municipality, the province, the republic and the federation. All attempts to solve joint problems without the cooperation of working people from all nations and nationalities which live together are doomed to failure, for they are opposed to the development of equality and community.

The events in Kosovo again impose in a sharper form the realization and experience that in our society not all exponents of particular interests are conscious of their responsibility to their socialist, democratic, self-management society. By their lack of readiness to come to agreement they reduce the ability to decide and their effectiveness at all levels. This is a danger which may bring the development of our democracy and self-management into crisis.

The Development of self-management depends to a great extent on the stability of economic and political relations, and the stability of intranational relations depends of the self-management democratization of relations in the federation, republics, provinces, municipalities, local communities and organizations of associated labor. Hence the need for the League of Communists to the long-term interests of the working class increasingly, as well as contributing to greater freedom and equality for the nations and nationalities and the strengthening of their self-management linking.

To be able to oppose nationalism more resolutely and to be able to promote equality and togetherness we must work even harder for the further development of socialist self-managing relations, especially from the point of view of the open, democratic and socialist pooling of interests and settling of disputes. The various nationalist forms of bargaining and particularism, which exist in practice, pave the way "to the blind reaction of an equally blind nationalism." All those who bear in mind only the partial interests of the moment, who are blind to everything that is brought along by the spread of the practice of self-management and the modern development of the production forces in the world and by scientific and technological progress, cause damage to economic development with serious consequences in the social and political fields.

From the statist basis in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo grew a political practice which hindered the development of economic, social and political unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on self-managing foundations, on constitutional principles and solutions. Many of the important shared or specific functions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, constitutionally established, were not being carried out. There was no realization in practice of the principles according to which the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as a sociopolitical community and state, together with the organized socialist forces and the League of Communists as the leading ideopolitical forces, is responsible for the entire social, economic, political and cultural development of the republic as a whole and of all its parts including the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The more powerful provincial isolationism grew, the weaker were the constitutionally defined self-managing cooperation, association and integration inside the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a whole and the more this isolationism clashed with natural possibilities and social needs. The trend toward isolating and separating the province from the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a whole also represented the basis of isolationism with regard to Yugoslavia as a whole, this trend was favored by the manifestations of autarky and statism throughout the country, from the basic organization of associated labor to the federation. In such circumstances there was a proliferation of diverse and one-sided interpretations of the autonomous province, republic, federation -- in other words of the character of our federalism. One of them was reflected in the neglect of self-managing development and in the statist equalization of the province and the republic.

The self-managing position of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and its relations inside the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY must be based on the consistent realization of our constitutional system.

Undeniably, the absence of self-managing agreement-making and social accord-making is not the consequence only of the existence of different interests, but also of the desire of the political leadership to become independent, which was also reflected in the system of relations. The past relations between the Socialist Autonomous Province and the Socialist Republic of Serbia appear to have lagged behind the needs of self-management, pooling of labor and the possibilities [words indistinct] by the constitutional principles and solutions.

It is therefore indispensable not only that self-managing agreement-making and social accord-making should be achieved on a larger scale and more rapidly in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and within the framework of the SFRY, but also that the right sociopolitical conditions for their realization should be created.

In this connection it is essential that agreements and accords should grow and be realized on socialist self-managing foundations, that they consolidate the processes of self-managing integration and the self-managing pooling of labor and resources, that they should be based on economic laws and that they should prevent bureaucratic subjectivism and voluntarism.

The autonomous province bases its development on its own resources and on its being open to mutual cooperation, to cooperation with all self-managing organizations and socio-political communities inside the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

The self-managing affirmation of the autonomous nature of the province is not opposed to the unity of the republic. What is important is to affirm the constitutional autonomous nature of the province in a way which at the same time guarantees the position and development of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state and self-managing socio-political community, so that it is able to perform the constitutionally defined joint functions.

All the socialist organized forces and especially the League of Communists must in the course of the next period formulate and implement the policy of togetherness in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia and must encourage the processes of self-managing agreement-seeking, pooling and social accord-making, which are insufficiently developed and restricted, and must intensify cooperation and togetherness in various fields: the economy, science, culture, education, information, and so forth.

It is indispensable to build relations of cooperation and unity in the socialist republic as a whole in the spirit of the constitutions of the SFRY, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitution of the autonomous province and in keeping with the needs imposed by present-day self-managing development. The decisive prerequisite for the realization of this policy is to be found in the necessary and consistent pooling of labor and resources by all the basic social cells of the province, of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a whole and of the SFRY. This is the unavoidable road to the abolition of the basis of the bureaucratic-statist mentality and behavior, which are the cause of numerous political mistakes and especially of nationalist isolationism and separatist division. This is an illness from which social awareness is also suffering in many other environments, a situation which feeds all the forms of socialism in Yugoslavia.

The Reactionary Meaning of the Slogan, "Kosovo -- A Republic"

This time Yugoslavia did not find itself confronted by the real social, economic, cultural and political problems connected with the rights of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and its equality. We found ourselves confronted by the reactionary and counterrevolutionary aspirations to turn the entire development of Kosovo and Yugoslavia by force in a completely different historical direction. The counterrevolutionary forces tried, in the name of the dark aims of greater-Albanian nationalism, to impose by force, rebellion and separation from Yugoslavia. This counterrevolutionary aim was expressed openly and clearly in the demand of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists for the creation of the so-called "Albanian Republic" in Kosovo.

In their counterrevolutionary rebellion and propaganda, the Albanian nationalists put out a slogan about the "republic" which would comprise all the "Albanian regions" of Yugoslavia and (?lead to) separation from the SFRY and to joining the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The second, tactical form of this slogan is "Kosovo -- a Republic" within the SFRY which would comprise all the "Albanian regions." This is only a maneuver with which to attain the first goal. In every circumstance pronounced expression was given to threats with the use of force, as did also the other irredentist slogans against the SFRY, its historical personalities, social progress and all its policies. In the atmosphere of the nationalist tide, in which even the attitudes of the League of Communists of Kosovo on this question were not always clearly expressed, a number of people were deceived by this slogan.

The slogans "Kosovo -- a Republic," "Unification" and similar slogans also appeared in the enemy demonstrations in Kosovo in 1968. The bureaucratic-etatist, nationalist and irredentist essence of hostile demonstrations, despite a series of measures which were adopted, was not given any political significance, which these nationalist actions and slogans deserved, by the League of Communists of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Within the framework of a broader trend toward territorial isolationism, a number of highly-placed personalities in Kosovo pursued a policy which hindered cooperation in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in Yugoslavia. This is one of the reasons why the slogan, "Kosovo -- a Republic," did not meet with the necessary clear and public condemnation at an earlier stage.

"The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was created in the common struggle of its nations and nationalities in the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution of Yugoslavia and, on the basis of the freely declared will of the population -- the nations and nationalities of Kosovo -- and the freely declared will of the people of Serbia. It joined the Socialist Republic of Serbia within the framework of the SFRY" (excerpt from the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo). This expressed and confirmed the objective socio-historical need and reality because both the Albanian and all the other nationalities in Kosovo contribute to the creation of new Yugoslavia as their own socialist community based on equality. There was no dilemma because the nations and nationalities of Kosovo had lived together for centuries, fought for social and national liberation by relying on one another and during the liberation war and revolution, under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, marched under one partisan oath -- to their own people, for their own individual and also common national and social liberation, for their life together in new Yugoslavia. The gains of the revolution and socialist development are the first reason why the biggest part of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo, and even a considerable number of those who were deceived by the nationalist slogans, were not ready to follow the extreme nationalists and irredentists. Their vital interests lie in the democratic self-managing system and relations in Yugoslavia and not in the Stalinist system in Albania.

The political meaning of the slogan "Kosovo -- a Republic" covers numerous counter-revolutionary aims. The following are the main ones:

- To create an organized bureaucratic-etatist stronghold based on etatist ownership and Stalinist dictatorship;

- To establish a state which would gather together all the Albanians in Yugoslavia on a "purely ethnic" base;

- To form an etatist creation whose social essence would run counter to all the main gains of the socialist revolution, achievements of socialist self-managing democracy in Yugoslavia, decisions of the AVNO [Antifascist Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia] and principles of the constitutional order of the SFRY;

- And to set up a state creation which would open the door to foreign interference in the internal affairs of independent Yugoslavia and which would question the state borders, integrity, and the independence and nonaligned policy of the SFRY.

Consequently, all these counterrevolutionary aims were opposed to the vital interests of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, to the social system, international position, historical role and existence of the SFRY and thus also to the vital interests of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia as well.

In a few words, the meaning of these demands was expressed in the attitude that the national question in Yugoslavia could, allegedly, be solved "only by bringing down the system of socialist self-management...as a capitalist theory and practice" (Enver Hoxha, 1978).

The prime and basic aim of the irredentist and separatist conception is the destruction of the socialist self-managing order in Yugoslavia. The so-called "Kosovo Republic" would be an antihistorical creation of the Stalinist type, the imitation of that form of primitive, agrarian communism and false egalitarianism which has been realized in the neighboring People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The nationalists' and irredentists' demand for the creation of a new state which would gather together and unite territorially on a "pure ethnic basis" all the Albanians in Yugoslavia is one which is manifestly reactionary in the modern world. The first consequence of this would be the artificial division of the social communities which have developed historically and of the territories upon which sections of many peoples, members of a large number of nationalities, have lived for centuries.

Such a forced division would destroy the greatest achievement of common life which all the working people of Kosovo have realized in socialist construction to date. This division would lead to isolation and insularity on a nationalist basis and also to expulsions and forced migrations of members of individual nations and nationalities.

The experiences of history have demonstrated that every type of (?state) organization on the principle of "ethnic purtiy" and strict national exclusiveness has been in contradiction not only of socialism but also of the elementary democratic rights and modern needs of people. The attempt to implement these essentially racist principles within Yugoslavia contradicts (?its) socialist self-managing order, the territorial integrity of its socialist republics and thus the integrity, independence and autonomy of the SFRY. This is all the more so since the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia are not artificial creations in which the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo finds itself by chance. The socialist autonomous provinces, the socialist republics and the (?SFRY) are social realities which have arisen through long historical development. They are above all the result of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, through which the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia declared their readiness for life in common.

What is involved is essentially the Albanian irredentists' demand, under the slogan "Kosovo Republic," to revise and alter the present-day borders of sovereign states. This would bring into question the basic principles of today's international relations, such as the principle of the inviolability of (?existing) borders, adopted by the UN Charter and at the CSCE in Helsinki in 1975. This policy would lead directly to a dangerous exacerbation of international relations which would threaten the peaceful development so necessary to each people.

The most dangerous political consequence of such plans is that the demand for a "pure ethnic composition" means isolationism within national groupings. Such [word indistinct] influence the existence of various demands for vertical state-political linkage and organization of people exclusively in accordance with national adherence, that is, independent of the state and social nature of political communities in which working people live and work. The phenomenon of such political national isolationism is wholly contradictory to the objective tendencies of social progress and the patterns of people's economic and social integration, to say nothing of socialist self-management and the democratization of social relations and the position of people in socialism. To succumb to this manifestation would provoke particularly in environments with a mixed national composition artificial splits with grievous consequences for the social position and role of the working class, and social life of all citizens, and the integrational processes and genuine national equality and community. This would mean the artificial whipping up of intranational conflicts in connection with every social, economic and cultural problem. The way out of these conflicts would depend entirely upon the correlation of forces within and amongst these enclosed national groups. Such a confrontation would inevitably lead to the great and more powerful riding rough-shod over the smaller and weaker.

The problem of national minorities is a universal, world problem.

Multinational communities are neither rare nor chance phenomenon. They are not only the consequence of historical events, wars, carving out of states and worlds in accordance with the interests of the most powerful powers in the past. The more profound reasons for the development of these communities are the increasingly large individual and group migrations which are the result of the development of social and international division of labor and the progress of mankind. The territory upon which specific nations are in contact, meet and border upon one another are as a rule territories with a mixed national composition.

Genuine national interests can be fully realized only in mutual understanding, respect and trust, in constant rapprochement and cooperation with members of other nations and nationalities on common territory. The only progressive thing which is in the joint interests of all the nations and nationalities (? living in a territory) is for problems to be resolved in the spirit of brotherhood and equality. This is an irreplaceable progressive concept to which humanity aspires today.

The LCY stance and the SFRY policy with regard to problems of national minorities in general and to nationalities in Yugoslavia are well-known and have been realized in practice for several decades already. This practice and policy are principled and standard both in relation to the nationalities in Yugoslavia and in relation to sections of Yugoslav nations in neighboring countries, as well as in relation to national minorities and ethnic groups in general, everywhere in the world.

The demands for nationalities to be constituted into separate states are explicitly reactionary because they express the stance of national separation and isolationism in the nationally "mixed" areas and in conditions of increasingly objective interdependence of the peoples and countries, in conditions of the consolidation and development of intranational integration processes based on law.

So for many principled and specific historic reasons and in accordance with the principles of the constitutional set-up of the SFRY nationalities do not form their own separate states. They have their own state together with the nations and nationalities with which they live. The rights and responsibilities fulfilled in practice by the Albanian and other nationalities, within the framework of the autonomous province, of the republic and of the SFRY, express the de facto equality of the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

In short the "Kosovo-Republic" slogan runs completely counter to the socialist self-management system in Yugoslavia in which the Albanian nationality has gained full equality from the economic, political and cultural viewpoint and whose general condition is constantly improving, commensurate with the possibilities and achievements of its economic development. The basic meaning of the slogan "Kosovo Republic" is in fact the demand to change the revolutionary achievements and orientation of all our nations and nationalities, to wreck their federal community and to revise the SFRY state borders, which is a threat to the territorial integrity and opposition to the socialist self-management system in Yugoslavia.

(?Struggle) Against Nationalism and Development of Togetherness

It is very important that the notions "national" and "nationalistic" should not be confused and that NATIONAL AFFIRMATION should not be taken as NATIONALISM [capitalized words double-spaced]. In discussion nationalism and irredentism, in connection with the events in Kosovo, we should clearly stress what we mean by that and what we oppose.

The nationalism against which we must resolutely fight is national exclusivity and the desire to separate the nations and nationalities which have lived on the same territory for a long time and which fought together for their future. In addition to being national hatred, irredentism is a call to undermine and wreck the Yugoslav community and to detach a part of state territory.

It has always been a banner of reaction, ranging from German racism, Italian fascism, greater-Hungarian fascist irredenta to Chetniks, Balists, Ustashas, White Guardists and others.

The policy of inner leadership structures in Kosovo was particularly wrong in that it did not consistently and firmly deal with nationalism. The stances and the practice did not establish a distinction between national affirmation on the one hand and nationalism and irredentism on the other, between the development of self-management autonomy on the one hand and the isolation and separation from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY on the other, between natural aspirations to economic, social and cultural development and justified request for development aid from the developed republics and province on the one hand and long-term policy of relying on one's own forces and development on the other, between equality and building the links and rapprochement between the nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY on the one hand and the statist approach to the solution of separate and joint problems in the main areas of life.

Hence the lasting and ever topical duty of all communists in Kosovo and communists of every nation and nationality in Yugoslavia ideologically, clearly and in a politically principled way to establish consistently the difference between the struggle and efforts for national affirmation and equal relations and abuse of national interests and nation-istic actions of all hues.

In view of the difficult historic heritage which has burdened the conscience of the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, and others, it is exceptionally important to DEVELOP TOGETHERNESS IN KOSOVO [capitalized passage double-spaced]. Bearing in mind the differences in the degree of economic, cultural, urban and general development, coupled with big language differences, with considerable differences in daily life habits, customs and practices and with religious and other differences, the nurturing of togetherness and formation of intranational awareness must be tackled politically, consistently and in an organized way, in a scientific-Marxist and humane way, in the spirit of our socialist togetherness and of Tito's ideas.

Some manifestations in Kosovo daily life, instead of establishing togetherness, resulted in the formation of a new gulf between the nationalities. Many extremes resulted in isolation in the social, cultural and daily life, ranging from education in kindergartens, cultural societies, separate school and faculty outings to manifestations of emigration by the Serbs and Montenegrins and phenomena of separate promenade lines for Albanian and other young people along city pavements.

In some cases there was insistence that members of nations and nationalities in Kosovo must know Albanian if they want to obtain employment in specific places of work. On the other hand, children and young people of other nationalities, as well as their parents, did not feel the over-riding necessity of learning the Albanian language. It was shown that it was not sufficient simply to proclaim language tolerance. Educational, social, political and societal organizations must create the climate and the conditions for the learning and knowledge of a non-mother tongue and for bilingual education in multinational environments. This is in keeping with the requirements of life and work; it is an important aspect of equal communication and genuine rapprochement between the people in multinational environments.

The national affirmation of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo is erroneously understood, even amongst certain people in the League of Communists, as "Albanianization", that is, the historical and modern community of all the nations and nationalities of Kosovo is neglected. National affirmation is conceived of as being cultural and socio-psychological "homogenization" of all Albanians at all costs -- regardless of the long history of life in common, which is absurd in the modern world.

Support and encouragement should be given to the national affirmation of Albanians.

But any successes in regard to national affirmations of Albanians are impossible outside of fraternal concord and cooperation of all the nations and nationalities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in the Social Republic of Serbia and in the SFRY. National affirmation is possible in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, respect, socialist and class Solidarity and reciprocity.

Kardelj's warning (1977) remains very topical even today. He recalled that as regards Kosovo we had earlier said that Serbs bear a particular responsibility, and today the situation is the other way round. "Today the Albanians in Kosovo bear a particular responsibility precisely because they are the people in the majority here in Kosovo." He did not believe that greater Serbian nationalism had been eliminated, that it did not exist, or that it was weak in strength. On the contrary, he believed it still existed and that it would continue to exist for some considerable time yet. But he considered that the struggle against greater Serbian nationalism was impossible from positions of Albanian nationalism. He advocated that all these problems should be resolved within the framework of self-management and of a humanist, democratic friendship between peoples. These stances are still very significant today.

The struggle for unity is deeply rooted. People have shared a common life on the same territory for many centuries. Our people's struggles for bread and for a better life over the centuries have been in common. The liberation struggles of the past, and the songs against the same foreigner, have been in common. We suffered from the same invaders and enslavers, and we fought against them together. We have our common heroes in the struggle for freedom and independence in the more recent times, labor heroes, revolutionary institutions and self-managing organizations, efforts exerted today. And the great historic achievements of our revolution we share in common -- brotherhood and unity and national equality. We have in common our broad openness to the world, our nonaligned policy and wide-ranging links with developing countries, with movements for national liberation and progress in the world.

In a word, we have in common the multifaceted, difficult and bold life of our nations and nationalities; and we have in common in particular the revolutionary struggle which we have waged to date and are still waging. We have in common socialist self-managing development and its achievements. It is upon this that the consciousness and conscience of your generations of all nations, of all nationalities in Kosovo should be built.

IV. Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo

Postwar Development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo

The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo entered the period of socialist construction as a markedly undeveloped area: Approximately 90 percent of the Albanian population was illiterate, and more than 80 percent of the Kosovo population lived off backward and chiefly natural means of production in agriculture.

What is involved here is general backwardness and an insignificant basis for any sort of economic development whatsoever. Characteristic of this period were great efforts to rehabilitate the economy of the entire country, which had been ravaged in the war, and no lesser efforts to overcome the consequences of the cominform blockade, which objectively reduced the available resources, so that the country was unable to commit itself sufficiently to stimulating Kosovo's development. The Socialist Republic of Serbia made special efforts to promote Kosovo's development in the period. Special systemic measures were undertaken at federal level from 1957 onward in order to create material and social preconditions for the accelerated development of the province.

The material and social development and all-round transformation of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the postwar period represent a unique example of accelerated socioeconomic development.

The essence of Kosovo's socioeconomic progress concerns not only the rapid economic development but also relates primarily to the historic nature of social changes in Kosovo, to its new historical image. In less than four decades a path has been blazed from a society having many of the characteristics of a precapitalist relations and patriarchal isolationism to a modern society of socialist self-management in which man, free and equal to other people, becomes the master of his own fate. An integral part and basis of such comprehensive social changes have also been the dynamic material development, which has formed a new production and social structure in the province and which has totally altered the way of life in it. The following facts bear witness to this.

The proportion of the agricultural population in overall population in 1980 was reduced to approximately 36 percent. The share of industry in the social product was increased from 16.1 percent in 1974 to 38.7 percent in 1979, while the share of agriculture was reduced from 58.9 percent to 20.9 percent. In the period between [figure indistinct] and 1980 industrial production increased 18 fold. The overall agricultural production has increased about three times since 1955, and by more than six times on state-owned farms. Important infrastructural projects have been built such as: modern highways, electrification, schools, and educational, scientific, cultural and health institutions. The number of employees in the social sector has increased 4.7 fold since 1952 and amounted to about 173,000 in 1980. In terms of the level of education of the employed personnel, Kosovo moved from the last to the third position in the country, which is above the average for the country as a whole.

The living and social standing of the population in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo grew fast. Housing accommodation has increased five fold since 1951, while the income and the available resources of a four-member family has increased 3.4 times in the last 10 years alone.

Health service, education, culture and other social activities throughout the postwar period developed much faster than economic activity. For instance, the number of people per doctor was reduced from 11,938 in 1950 to 1,800 in 1979. After the war the average life expectancy was 45 years; now it is 68 years. Primary education in Kosovo today, as indeed throughout the country, covers 96 percent of children. The total number of pupils and students amounts to more than 450,000, which means that 1 out of 3 inhabitants is receiving education. Pristina University has more than 40,000 internal and external students. The development of scientific research activities was exceptionally fast, too. In the last 20 years alone 18 scientific research organizations employing 1,160 researchers have been established.

A veritable transformation occurred in the development of culture. At the beginning there were only a few libraries and cinemas, while there are in Kosovo today (?385) libraries, 2 professional and 6 amateur theaters, 5 museums and 50 cultural-educational organizations. About 370 books and brochures are published every year. Thirty two newspapers and more than 60 daily and periodical magazines in the languages of the nations and nationalities are published. Radio and television in Pristina rank among the most modern in the country.

The results in the development of Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have been achieved as a result of the efforts by the working people of Kosovo and by our entire social community.

The faster development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and of the under-developed republics was bolstered with the resources of a special federal fund made available by what was set aside by all the economy of our country in which process Kosovo's share in the distribution of the fund's resources ("steadily") grew.

The fund resources played an exceptionally important role in Kosovo's economic development and accounted for about 70 percent of the total investments in the fixed assets of the Kosovo economy in the 1971-75 period. Also, about 70 percent of the provincial budget resources flowed from our social community as a whole.

At the same time the development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was bolstered by many other economic measures and facilities.

In the 1981-85 period the credit resources of the federal funds, for which the social economy of our country as a whole will set aside 1.83 percent of its social product, will be granted to Kosovo under conditions which are 25 percent more favorable than those granted to the inadequately developed republics. The Kosovo share in the federal fund resources will amount to 42.5 percent. However, there will be resources secured on a supplementary basis for Kosovo's development running at the level of 45 percent of the total resources of the fund for the development of the underdeveloped areas.

The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo's share of the supplementary resources from the federal budget for the development of social activities and for general expenditure in underdeveloped republics and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for which 0.85 percent of the social product of the overall economy of our country is set aside, will be 41.8 percent, which is the biggest share. Moreover, during this 5-year plan the percentage of the supplementary resources set aside will not be reduced for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo which, however, will be done with regard to the inadequately developed republics.

It is anticipated that the overall assistance resources given by our social community as a whole to bolster the accelerated development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo during this 5-year period will amount to 15 trillion old dinars.

The Character and the Causes of Economic Problems in Kosovo

The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is today economically the least developed part of our country, but it is something completely different in the relation to what it was in the past. The attained results represent a very favorable economic basis for faster development in the ensuing period. The natural potential, the industrial basis, the economic infrastructure that has been built, the education and the expertise of the cadres make possible even faster development.

The economic development problems in Kosovo are big indeed. However, what is involved is not only the problems of development but, mainly, the very concept of development, the fact that it was partly one-sided, inadequate and unorganized and that it did not produce the possible and necessary results, creating fresh problems instead.

During the last 5-year period (1976-80) there occurred a slowing down in Kosovo's development which is lagging behind the development of the whole country, and there is also the problem -- in an accentuated form -- of growing discrepancies between the degree of the development of Kosovo and of our country as a whole. During the same period the resources provided by our social community at large to bolster the accelerated development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were increased.

The reasons for the stagnation cannot be sought only in the underdeveloped nature of Kosovo's economy. During this period the share of industry in Kosovo in the structure of the basic means of the economy amounted to 67.8 percent, which is considerably more than in the country as a whole, where the share of the industry amounted to 53.6 percent. (Admittedly, this is also a result of the inadequate degree of development of other branches of the economy as well.)

The share of work tools and technology in the basic means in Kosovo industry is 56.5 percent, which is also an index of better technical equipment in relation to the country as a whole, where this share is 50 percent. The basic problems of Kosovo's economy during this period have appeared because of a fall in labor productivity. The gap in the relation to the average labor productivity in the SFRY, which in Kosovo is lower by one third, has also considerably increased.

The fact that the greatest share of investments went into large-scale power-engineering and nonferrous metal projects, and that staff were insufficiently equipped to deal (with these projects) added to delays and inefficiency in realizing these projects and gave rise to a fall in the effectiveness of investments in Kosovo's industry, which is almost half the average effectiveness in the country. This has had its effect on the economy's business activity, so that in this period losses per employed worker in Kosovo were three times greater than the average losses in the SFRY.

During the same period agricultural production rose only one percent.

The slow rate of growth of industrial production and the stagnation of agricultural production have greatly aggravated the problem of unemployment in the work force. Although the rate of rise in employment in Kosovo is the highest in the SFRY (30 percent higher than the country's average), and although in the last 5 years the number employed in the social sector has increased by 39,000, last year there were 67,000 unemployed and the unemployment growth rate was 10.5 percent, which is also the highest in the country.

These problems in Kosovo have accumulated in recent years and reached their full expression in a time of general economic difficulties in our country. The trend over many years toward so-called heavy investment structure, that is toward the dominance of investments in power and raw materials; and the neglect of development of the processing industries and crafts; poor efficiency and excessive expenditure of funds for an over-running of schedules of these projects -- these have resulted in the funds invested not being utilized to the full, so that the expected and necessary industrial development has not taken place. The permanently low labor productivity and poor business results of the economy have had the same effect. This period has also been accompanied by relatively large, megalomaniac investments in large scale noneconomic projects, which are insufficiently functional and rational.

At the same time agricultural development has long been neglected, particularly in private farms. Owing to a high growth level in the population, particularly the able-bodied population which could not maintain itself in the underdeveloped agriculture nor be absorbed by industry as a result of the structure and slowing down of development, the problem of unemployment, which was in any case a permanent one, appeared in a very exacerbated form.

In the last 10 years the growing pressure of unemployment among the able-bodied population found its outlet in employment in other, developed parts of our country and partly in employment abroad. On the other hand, this pressure also sought a way out in the explosive expansion of education.

In Kosovo only 20 percent of the total able-bodied population is employed in the social sector, while 16 percent is in secondary schools and further studies. Such a situation is in itself a great hotbed of social problems, which are aggravated when generations of qualified specialists face few opportunities of employment and poor prospects in this respect. The mobility of young specialists from Kosovo is small, in addition, owing to lack of knowledge of other languages. Opportunities for employment are small, owing to the underdeveloped nature of the economy, and also owing to education's failure to coordinate with the needs of the economy. The majority of students are in the arts, and there are too few of them in vocations required by economic development. This tendency is more acute in Kosovo than similar phenomena in the country as a whole.

Registrations at faculties this fall show improvement, although there are still too few candidates for registration in technical, scientific and mathematical faculties where the greatest needs for cadres exist.

Objective problems of socioeconomic development in Kosovo exist and are very great. They are, however, exacerbated by the fact that subjective forces do not resolve them in the appropriate fashion.

On the other hand, all these negative manifestations and trends, behind which there have often been errors of a subjective nature, have made it impossible for the objective opportunities achieved in economic development and the professional abilities of working people to be expressed in the possible and necessary measure. This also means that by resolving these problems and the numerous subjective weaknesses in this regard and by formulating an appropriate concept of development, there exist all the bases for the existing foundations of economic development to find full expression, and for the accelerated and fuller socioeconomic development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. We may thus take an optimistic view of the long-term prospects for Kosovo's development.

In order to overcome the negative tendencies in Kosovo's economy, which are in many respects typical of bureaucratic voluntarism in economic development, open and critical analyses of the weaknesses and stagnation in the practical development of self-managing relations and in the working peoples' mastery of the entirety of social reproduction and of real problems of and opportunities for development are essential.

Socioeconomic development in Kosovo was primarily the domain of a narrow political factor, both where the development of the economy itself was concerned and where the supply of funds in the federation was concerned.

The normal consequence of nonself-management influence on the part of political factors upon economic life was bureaucratism and statism; the class interest of working people was curbed; and the mentality of self-satisfaction in economic development and in the very concept of development was created.

This growth of self-satisfied autarchic development, which occurs not only in Kosovo, and its practical manifestations have the most grievous consequences for the underdeveloped economy and for crafts, for it excludes them from the entirety of the system which is more developed in terms of technology, science and self-management.

Development of Socialist Self-Management Is a Necessary Condition of Economic Progress

The basic thing in the development of self-management relations in Kosovo is that the working people should actually decide about extended reproduction, about investment policy and about all the questions of Kosovo's continued development. That is, that with political action they should overcome the statist relations in this area.

The association and links between organizations of associated labor along self-management lines and especially with organizations of associated labor over the entire Yugoslav area is a crucial factor of integrating the Kosovo economy with the economy of Serbia and Yugoslavia and of its faster development and progress. The working people in Kosovo can control extended reproduction and overcome all bureaucratic-technocratic obstacles along this way only through self-management association with the working people throughout the country. This of course, is valid also for organizations of associated labor and working people in all the republics and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

In this context particular importance attaches to the way the resources of the federal fund for bolstering an accelerated development of the underdeveloped republics and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will flow.

These resources, as we have seen, dominated the overall extended reproduction resources in Kosovo (for investments 90 percent of the resources from the fund and outside credits, and 70 percent of the budget requirements), and were channeled into the Kosovo economy frequently "from above" by inner circle political factors, so that they were not used with adequate rationality, nor did they contribute to the consolidation of self-management socialist relations.

The new way these resources will flow through direct association of the organizations of associated labor's resources from the entire country and those in Kosovo (50 percent, and 50 percent from the funds) will strengthen the self-management relations and the power of the working people in Kosovo. The various forms of association will be extended to technology, expert cadres and the market, which will improve the efficiency of the invested resources. The most important thing is that this will open up the possibility of a more extensive direct interest of work organizations throughout the country in investing in Kosovo.

A resolute social action in the country as a whole and especially in Kosovo is required to carry out the tasks implicit in the social plans and the commitment of produce 50 percent of the resources of the fund through association.

The processes of the association and mergers of organizations of associated labor strengthen the unity of the working class and togetherness of our nations and nationalities on the basis of equality. In the same sense and through the consistent implementation of the constitution, the activity of the appropriate institutions of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the federation is required.

The Socialist Republic of Serbia has special commitments and responsibility with regard to the socioeconomic development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as its integral part.

Diminution of Differences in the Degree of Economic Development

The LCY and our entire socialist community are consistent in the stance to the effect that the differences in the level of economic development between the developed and inadequately developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo must be reduced. This is a policy laid down a long time ago by the LCY congresses. This task calls for long-term efforts.

The measurement of the degree of development is very complex. National income per head of population is one of the essential indicators of the degree of development. Measured by this indicator Kosovo's progress was very dynamic during the postwar development, but it shows stagnation in relation to the pace of the development of our country. However, the degree of economic development also comprises a number of economic components which are difficult to measure such as, for instance, the degree of activization of natural potentials; capacities which are important for the development of production forces which will show an effect during the coming period; educational, expert and creative potentials of the people; the degree of social and personal standard of living and the general cultural level of the environment; the degree of development of science, and so forth.

If the level of development is considered from a broader viewpoint, Kosovo has attained more important results than shown by statistics about the per capita social product. If we bear in mind the historic changes which have been carried out, during the post-war period Kosovo developed faster than anyone else.

The task of reducing the differences in the level of economic development cannot be reduced only and mainly to the size of the resources to be secured from the federal fund.

The socioeconomic development depends on a number of factors, on the size of the resources, on population trends and growth, on the efficiency of investments, on labor productivity, on the structure and direction of economic development, and so forth. All these components can contribute to reducing the differences and must be borne in mind. They must be acted on simultaneously.

Immediate Directions of Action in the Economic Development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo

In the coming period the greatest attention must be devoted to consolidation and full activization of all opportunities for increasing production in the existing Kosovo economy. This involves fuller utilization of capacities, increase in labor productivity and better management as a whole.

The extent of these opportunities is demonstrated by the fact that on the basis of the average Yugoslav labor productivity, (since) the Kosovo social economy has a good foundation in above-average level of technical equipment, approximately one third more social product could be realized than is actually realized.

In this respect consistent implementation of the economic stabilization policy is of particular importance. It is thus essential to sharpen responsibility everywhere for realization of the planned growth of production, for increased labor productivity and increased income, for economic and profitable management, better labor organization, maximum use of capacities, thorough investigation of the cause of losses, and the adoption of complete measures to make good these losses. Special efforts must be exerted to increase exports and strengthen the economy's orientation toward exports. In addition, opposition to an irresponsible attitude toward social resources and labor, toward manifestations of wastage, damage and irrational investment, must be seen to be of the greatest economic and political importance.

Despite the development brought about, the economic situation in Kosovo is complicated and difficult. A way out of such a situation is possible only through great efforts by all working people through better work, discipline and responsibility. It must be clear to every working man and citizen that it is by his own labor that personal income, growth in the standard of living and progress of the environment in which he lives is ensured.

Investment policy must be reoriented in order to create a more varied economic structure, with the emphasis on the processing industry and agriculture, which would facilitate more dynamic production and more participation by the able-bodied population. The development of tourism, services and crafts must also be encouraged.

In the objective conditions of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo the most rational investments are those in industry which resolve the problem of unemployment. This is not extensive employment but an effective solution of one of the greatest developmental problems in that environment. It is also essential to speed up the fulfillment of obligations undertaken by agreement by the republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, each to build one economic project in Kosovo.

Many measures which will give rapid results are required to resolve the unemployment problem. In this respect solutions may be sought in creating conditions for the movement of trained cadres to other regions in our country where the need for them exists, and in work on professional retraining in accordance with the needs of associated labor.

Particular concern must be devoted to members of the Albanian nationality working in many regions of Yugoslavia, in every environment where they live and work. There must be further development of their professional training, education, schooling of their children in their own language, and the conditions must be provided for them to be more widely involved in self-management organs, in the work of sociopolitical organizations, and in cultural and public life.

Given that a relatively large number of members of the Albanian nationality from Kosovo work abroad, political work with them should be strengthened and systematic work should be done to create practical opportunities for their return.

Special attention must be devoted to the more rapid development of all branches of agriculture. The potential conditions for intensifying development of agricultural production are very favorable. The social sector of agriculture is still insufficiently well developed. A very large part of the cultivable land remains unworked, and there are great reserves for increasing labor productivity in private agricultural smallholdings. It is thus essential to undertake special measures to associate private agriculturalists, and to link them through cooperatives and other forms of cooperation organizations with the social sector; as well as to undertake measures to develop the social sector itself. Of importance, too, is that agricultural work organizations in Kosovo should be linked with the corresponding organizations from the republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and should be equipped in terms of introducing modern technology and manufactures.

Bases will thus be created for Kosovo's general socioeconomic development such as: slowing down the flow of the work force from the villages, and reducing the pressure on employment in industry, improving the standard of living, conditions of life and work in the villages, providing sufficient quantities of food for the population's needs, exports, and supplies of raw materials to the food industry.

In this respect the Kosovo League of Communist's program of action poses more specific and precise tasks. These tasks must be set in the appropriate fashion, too, by the medium-term plan for the development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and the joint obligations of the federation and the particular obligations of the Socialist Republic of Serbia should be established by the social plan and agreements in the federation and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia respectively.

V. Yugoslav-Albanian Relations and the Events in Kosovo

Yugoslavia is linked with its neighboring countries by joint interests of preserving peace and all-round equal cooperation. We are linked with the neighboring countries also through sections of the nations of the SFRY which live in these countries as national minorities, and also through sections of the peoples from the neighboring countries living in our country. We always proceeded from the fact that national minorities must be a link of understanding and friendship between the neighboring countries.

Our country does not have, (nor did it have), any territorial claims on a single one of our neighbors. We have proved this with our overall postwar policy and confirmed it with the adoption of the Helsinki charter. At the Helsinki CSCE (in 1975) Josip Broz Tito solemnly declared that Yugoslavia respected the principle of the inviolability of borders and that it considered the respect for this principle to be equally binding on itself and on its neighbors, and on all other countries too.

To live as good neighbors always meant for us the opportunity to build our country peacefully, especially since we are aware that imperialist and hegemonist forces exist in the world which provoke focal points of crisis and which try to disrupt the already established relations in this part of the world. Whenever international relations deteriorated there was manifested also the interest of various reactionary and conservative forces in the Balkans, an area of great strategic importance, to step up pressure, conduct various forms of "special war," and to incite and fan passions, especially nationalistic passions. Today this is one of the characteristics of the situation in this part of the world.

For decades Yugoslavia has invested efforts to normalize and develop Yugoslav-Albanian relations.

Our country set aside ideological differences with Albania; it strictly respected the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs and the unalienable right of every nation freely and independently to choose the paths of its development.

The foreign political line of the Albanian leadership toward Yugoslavia has not changed essentially since our conflict with the Cominform (in 1948). During this period, Albania changed its most important allies but maintained the same stance toward Yugoslavia -- hostility toward our country's overall foreign and internal policy, toward our self-management system and toward our nonaligned policy.

First they attacked us because we continued the struggle for Yugoslavia's independence and for equal relations among socialist countries, and because we dared to place a question mark against hegemonism in the international communist movement. They attacked us as a nonaligned country -- because we dared boldly to face realities and pit the independence of the countries in international cooperation, especially of the small and medium-sized countries which do not wish alignment, against the policy of blocs.

They attack our society as "revisionist." They attack it, in fact, from positions of Cominform exclusivity. What they are aiming at, as Enver Hoxha himself said, is the overthrow of the self-management social system in Yugoslavia.

Regardless of all its tactics, the policy of the Albanian leadership deliberately channels and views relations and cooperation in keeping with its greater-Albanian nationalistic policy toward Yugoslavia. This line of the Albanian leadership toward Yugoslavia, led by Enver Hoxha, could not remain only in the domain of ideology. The leading Albanian group subordinated "ideology" to nationalistic and chauvinist policy toward Yugoslavia.

The Albanian leadership openly supported and continued to support enemy disturbances in Kosovo. Abroad it virtually set up an alliance of Albanian political emigres against Yugoslavia -- ranging from fascist emigres since World War II to those of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" orientation. In the actions against Yugoslavia they did not even shrink from an alliance with the Ustasha profascist emigres.

Despite this line by the Albanian leadership, Yugoslavia believed that, as in the case of the Hungarian, Romanian, Italian and the other nationalities, the existence of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia was an additional reason for good-neighborly cooperation. The policy of consistent ensuring of the national rights of the nationalities always proceeded from our lasting principled stands; it was not conditional on the status of the Yugoslav peoples living in other countries, or on the state of interstate relations with individual neighboring countries at any one time.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania did not approach cooperation in the same way. Toward the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia it conducted itself in an exceptionally paternalistic way up to and including direct meddling in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This approach was not well-meaning, nor did it serve the purpose of making the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia a factor of promoting relations.

Guided by greater-Albanian ambitions and not accepting the historic reality regarding the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, the Albanian side, to give an example, during the Tirana talks insisted that the cultural convention be signed between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the one side and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the SFRY on the other side, as if Kosovo was not an integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

In the exchange of students also, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania insisted that students of Albanian nationality exclusively should be sent from Yugoslavia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, although it is the sovereign right of the Yugoslav side to decide about this. Because the Albanian side persistently and in an unjustified way stuck to its stands, the talks on signing a cultural cooperation agreement came to nothing.

At the celebrations marking the 500th anniversary of the death of Skenderbeg, the Albanian organizers invited a Kosovo delegation in an official letter, but under two conditions: that it be composed exclusively of members of the Albanian nationality, and, at that, of those who "enjoy the full trust of the Albanian people of Kosovo." In the spirit, that is, of the irredentist policy of "ethnic purity," the delegation should be made up solely of members of the Albanian nationality, and then of those members of the Albanian nationality who suit Tirana. The Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro soon saw through such a discriminatory attitude and rejected it, both in statements and also in several articles in the RILINDIJA daily.

Interference from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania turned in time into open support for the irredentist and counterrevolutionary forces, particularly in Kosovo. As far back as the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the Prizren League it was stressed that the Albanians in Yugoslavia are scattered in two republics and one province, allegedly "in order to manipulate them more easily"; which, in fact, signifies the wish for a change in the territory of individual Yugoslav republics, and impermissible interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country.

Enver Hoxha's "Memoirs" quite openly launch the question of the "rights" of Albanians to include in their state borders both Kosovo and all Yugoslavia's territories in which the Albanian nationality lives, stressing that the resolution of this aim has been put off for other times "when a real Marxist-Leninist party comes to power in Yugoslavia." The People's Socialist Republic of Albania's insistence that the territories "taken by force" be returned to it in fact represent territorial claims on Yugoslavia, regardless of the fact that official circles in Albania deny the existence of such an Albanian demand.

In Albanian propaganda, Yugoslavia is even proclaimed to be a fascist country, an imperialist agent in the Nonaligned Movement, whose task it is to hamper the struggle of national liberation revolutions in certain countries.

Were the leadership of the People's Republic of Albania interested in goodneighborliness, the joint liberation struggle of our peoples in the course of World War II and the fraternal cooperation at the time of the creation of the new Yugoslavia and the new Albania would not have been falsified, or rather erased, from Albanian history, would not have been concealed from the younger generations, nor would hatred toward the peoples of Yugoslavia, especially toward the Serbian people, have spread in so unbridled a fashion. Why is such an irreplaceable basis for cooperation and friendship between the peoples of the two countries abandoned, and hidden from the young generations of Albania?

Truly profound and principled ideological differences exist between the Albanian and Yugoslav concepts of a society of socialism, just as there exist ideopolitical differences between many other countries, but nevertheless these countries engage in all-round and meaningful cooperation. Yugoslavia has never regarded ideological differences as a hindrance to cooperation. Yugoslavia's relations with other countries and movements are proof of this.

The Yugoslav side has on several occasions reiterated its readiness for cooperation with Albania such as it is, for its internal policy and its system are the affair of the Albanian people.

Today, Yugoslavia still holds on to the belief that this is really possible, that is, that this is the sole genuine interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Albania.

Yugoslavia is in favor of reasonable and balanced cooperation, of mutual respect, regardless of differences. The minimum condition for this is that equality in cooperation be strictly respected, as should our country's sovereignty, and that no claims to changes in the Yugoslav borders be made, and that there be an end to interference in Yugoslavia internal affairs.

The mutual interests are obvious, both from the economic point of view as well as from the point of view of safeguarding the independence of the two countries. The development of both countries, the need for modern technology and greater trade exchange, as well as a more successful struggle against underdevelopment — all these are paths leading to cooperation. It should not be allowed to happen that the Balkans become an area of conflict because of Albanian-Yugoslav relations, or because of the megalomaniac irredentist plans of the Albanian leadership. We decisively advocate our own independence, and in the same way the independence and sovereignty of Albania, that is, of all states and peoples. Yugoslavia has always been, and remains determined to defend its independence, its path to socialism, its nonaligned policy and every inch of its land from external and internal enemies.

All-round and fruitful good-neighborly cooperation between Yugoslavia and Albania is possible, and corresponds to the objective long-term interests of our two neighboring countries. It can develop gradually and gain strength with efforts from both sides. The condition for this is that the Albanian Government abandon its policy of riding two horses in respect of Yugoslavia: on the one hand, accepting economic, cultural and other cooperation, often proceeding from one-sided interests; and on the other hand, interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, offering support to irredentist organizations and actions.

VI.

The communists and all subjective forces of Kosovo with the support of the League of Communists of Serbia and of all LCY launched a very lively activity to overcome the difficulties created with the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

The League of Communists still faces numerous and difficult tasks. They are in the main: a revival of the activity and full mobilization of the League of Communists and of other sociopolitical organizations on a critical analysis of the policy which made possible the breakthrough of nationalism and irredentism, on removing the present shortcomings and on the long term stabilization of political conditions in Kosovo; economic stabilization and establishment of more favorable conditions for development and for employment; an overall development of socialist self management; activities on the further development of equality and togetherness of the nations and nationalities in Kosovo and mobilization of broad masses in the struggle against nationalism.

THE POLITICAL-SECURITY SITUATION IN KOSOVO [capitalized passages double-spaced] is more favorable but it has not yet been stabilized. Although the objectives of enemy forces which had prepared counterrevolutionary actions are being unmasked with increasing success, enemy elements continue to emerge in a variety of ways persistently trying to show that they are still present in Kosovo. The enemy is trying to adapt itself to the situation which is becoming unfavorable for him and to maintain the continuity of his subversive activity. Through various forms of underground work he is trying to extend the scope of his activity where earlier he did not manage to succeed, which refers particularly to the countryside and to workers' environments, and also to carry on where he had contrived to establish certain strongholds at universities and in secondary schools. The forms of enemy activity are changing. They are, to give an example, anonymous letters, daubing enemy slogans, threats and blackmail, causing damage to social property, attempts at sabotage, unlawful organization and assembly, and others. With the substantial help of a psychological propaganda campaign from abroad the enemy is trying to spread demoralization and anti-Yugoslav. Especially anti-Serb sentiments.

Serbs and Montenegrins are exposed to various calls of intimidation and pressure, which leads to manifestations of forced emigration. Albanians in Kosovo who oppose violence, nationalism and irredentism too are exposed to threats and pressure.

We will fight the enemy resolutely and to the end with all the resources with which the security and integrity of an independent and free country is protected. It is the right and duty of all our nations and nationalities to defend the achievements of the revolution and a peaceful development of our country in every part of Yugoslavia. Every citizen must concern himself with peace and security and self-management development and, defending every part of our country, defend the country as a whole. This is our common concern although, naturally, every environment bears most responsibility for the situation in its own area.

Enemy activity and the deterioration of the military-political situation in the world call for consolidation of all aspects of the all-people's defense and social self-protection system, which will guarantee full personal and material safety of the citizens, unhampered production activity, efficient uncovering of organizers and protagonists of subversive actions and prevention of fresh terrorist attacks on our constitutional system and achievements of our revolution.

At the same time the League of Communists and other socio-political organizations must continue in an even more organized way to enhance the people's awareness and organize broad political and ideological work, especially with young people. We have not yet eliminated nationalistic and irredentist indoctrination, especially among school and student youth and among intelligencia. Adequate readiness for decisive political action in the domain of education and culture has not been manifested yet.

Greatest attention must be paid to nurturing and enhancing reciprocal trust and togetherness between the population and members of the Yugoslav People's Army and security forces which the enemy is persistently trying to breach.

WORK ON ECONOMIC STABILIZATION, [capitalized passage double-spaced] which is being carried out throughout the country, must be even more intensive in Kosovo. Action to stabilize economic circumstances must be carried out vigorously, although its results will come gradually.

It is exceptionally important that measures be taken on an all-Yugoslav scale for a real concept of the further development of the province's economy in the long term, especially for the next 4 to 5 years, to be drawn up. Measures have been taken for a united test of the opportunities for and directions of development, as well as of the realization of joint interests, to be carried out through the province's medium-term plan. At the same time, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, other republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina are examining with the provincial organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo the method of directing in the future 50 percent of the funds for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo's development on the basis of the agreements achieved regarding investment of funds in underdeveloped republics or in the Socialist Autonomous Province if possible. It is essential that an agreement be attained in the SFRY on specific implementation of the principles of association of funds on such a considerable scale, in order that no delay arise. At the same time, it should be stressed that the funds intended for the development for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are continually increasing and that other incentives and special measures for the province's more rapid economic and social development are being undertaken. The economic difficulties, which are serious in Kosovo, can be gradually overcome with great efforts on the part of the working class, working people and communists of Kosovo.

It is a favourable thing that the construction of a number of expensive projects, which has been going on for a long time, is coming to an end this year, and production starts next year.

The orientation toward a more favorable economic structure in the future will guarantee greater employment and more rapid recouping of investments.

Real opportunities exist for the development of agricultural production, not only due to natural circumstances but also because there already exists a certain amount of agricultural mechanization in villages, much knowledge in the application of agrotechnology has been acquired, [words indistinct] greater culture of the agricultural producer as a whole.

The reduction in the differences compared with the developed areas of the country will for a long time remain a priority task of the entire community. More complete and more all-round implementation of the policy of more rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is essential. Efforts must therefore be made to ensure that the envisaged accelerated growth of the Kosovo economy (60 percent greater than the average in Yugoslavia) be accomplished effectively.

Association and linkage of work organizations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with corresponding organizations throughout the country will create much more favorable objective conditions for more economic utilization of the existing potential and resources, and for application of more efficient organization and modern technology, which will have a positive influence upon the development of self-management and the strengthening of unity.

The League of Communists and other organized socialist forces in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have a great responsibility for activating in the greatest possible measure production and other economic potentials, for ensuring the best possible utilization of the significant internal reserve, for improving the utilization of capacity, for promoting labor organization and better use of labor time, all of which will best confirm the policy of relying upon one's own forces.

The orientation toward Kosovo's all-round development will ensure employment for the greatest possible number of young people. Agreement between the economy and sociopolitical communities and schools and faculties will be necessary, to ensure that schooling policy is coordinated with the opportunities and needs of the economy. The problem will nevertheless not be fully solved in a short time. Therefore, a number of young people must be found employment outside the province, which also demands preparation and agreement. The mobility of the work force is a characteristic of every modern economy, even of those which are much more highly developed than our own.

SELF-MANAGEMENT [capitalized word double-spaced] is not an empty word but the inalienable right of the working man -- in his own organization to work, manage and dispose of income, to plan, invest and link with other organizations. Self-management resolves the class question of the revolution, that the working man should be the most important social factor. This facilitates incomparably greater participation on the part of citizens and working people in decisionmaking in the local community, municipality, province, in the republic and federation, which, at the same time, guarantees an increasing degree of equality of nations and nationalities.

In a self-managing socialist society there can be no government without the mass participation of the broadest possible circle of working people and citizens in the factory, in the village, in the local community, in the school, at the faculty and elsewhere.

The distribution of funds from one center reduced the self-management rights of working people and citizens and gave great power to the political centers.

The lengthy duration of individual mandates and the personal power of individuals put an even greater brake on the development of self-management. In conditions when the greatest part of funds for expanded production and social consumption comes from the development fund and the budget, it is essential to find and implement methods and mechanism which will guarantee broad participation of working people in making decisions on the use of and control of the use of these funds.

In the period ahead of us, the autonomous province will develop on a self-managing basis. This will contribute to the development of community and of unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia on constitutional bases. Mutual interests as well as the interests of our entire Yugoslav community demand a greater degree of community both in the province and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as a complex self-managing and state community. The provinces are integral parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as they are also an element of Yugoslav federalism. No single system functions automatically, by some internal logic, but depends upon the consciousness of people, upon consistency of policy and actions in the spirit of (the Constitution) and of the program guidelines of the LCY. In practice, up to now, autarkic, etatist and centralist tendencies, irresponsibility on the part of individuals and a lack of vigilance on the part of the League of Communists have been manifested in resisting tendencies which promote the estrangement rather than rapprochement of integration and community.

The regulating of relations in Yugoslav self-managing society is possible only on the basis of the consistent implementation of the Constitution and through the further development of self-managing agreement-seeking and social accord-making.

It is necessary to have a much greater degree of togetherness between Albanians and other nations and nationalities in the field of culture, as well as a more extensive program of cooperation and interaction between national cultures and more openness of all the cultural environments to the cultural creativity of the Albanian nationality. This is not only a matter of the need for more frequent mutual communications and physical exchange, but of common ideas in the field of creativity in a democratic and humanist spirit, against dogmatic discipline and uniformity. This would give more powerful encouragement to creative workers in all national environments and provide them with greater scope for the expression of what is typical of them, but also of what we all have in common. The working man of every nationality wishes for the kind of cultural creativity which reflects him and his nation, but also those next to him, as well as the rest of the world and other nations. This kind of togetherness would lead to a strengthening of the political, cultural and ideological awareness of all the working people and citizens of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

EDUCATION, CULTURE, SCIENCE AND INFORMATION [capitalized words double-spaced] must be given a particular importance in the ideopolitical action of the socialist forces in Kosovo.

Idological passivity of the League of Communists in these highly important factors of the formation of social awareness created favorable conditions for the influence exercised by other, antisocialist and antiself-management ideological concepts. What happened, in many ways, was a legalized indoctrination of the young from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The Stalinist and nationalist propaganda from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was not answered with organized political and ideological work. In the field of education, culture, science and information it is necessary to persist in making a resolute change with regard to the ideological struggle against all the forms of nationalist awareness and with regard to the development of self-managing relations.

Ideological struggle must be persistent and patient, must be waged by argument without sectarianism, but at the same time energetically and in a principled manner.

In the interest of thoroughness and persistence in this struggle it is necessary to carry out numerous, critically deep political and scientific analyses of the stage of affairs and the necessary changes in the structure and professional orientation of secondary and higher education, cadre policy and the direction in which socialist and Marxist orientation of these spheres of social life will develop.

AFFIRMATION OF ALBANIAN NATIONALITY IN YUGOSLAVIA [capitalized passage double-spaced] is not a question of the future, but represents obvious reality. The thesis that people change and are at the same time changing the world round them is nowhere as obviously correct as it is in Kosovo. Albanians in Kosovo and elsewhere in Yugoslavia took part in the revolution and reconstruction during the national liberation war and the socialist building. They work and manage a society which is rapidly changing and progressing. The irredentists' lies about the stagnation and exploitation of Kosovo are being increasingly unmasked. The nationalists, who are trying to undermine trust and brotherhood and the centuries-old community of the nations and nationalities which live in Kosovo, are becoming increasingly isolated.

In the constant struggle for survival and freedom, the members of all the nations which populate Kosovo have had a common destiny. Different nations have for centuries lived on the same soil. Their languages, culture, life, customs, though different, are well known to one another. All this has left a deep imprint on the awareness and culture of all of them. Experience teaches us that national sentiments should not be neglected in the name of some ulterior human solidarity. Yugoslav communists undertook to provide a genuine solution for the national question in the form of the Yugoslav multinational community, though they had to carry out this task in the exceptionally difficult circumstances of the liberation war and the revolution.

The developed national consciousness of the Albanians in Kosovo, which has arisen as a result of comprehensive progress and the affirmation of the Albanian nationality, must not be abused by the nationalists and irredentists. The communists of Kosovo and all progressive people must not allow the enemy to draw young people into his own adventure from which it is in no way possible to produce a better position of higher degree of equality for the Albanian nationality; rather, this serves the interests of the enemy of the Albanians as well as of all other nations and nationalities in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

NATIONALISM [Capitalized word, double-spaced] on our territory and in Kosovo has been and still is a dangerous destructive force and it has its roots in the far past, in our numerous subjective weaknesses today, the real problems and certain contradictions and difficulties in our development.

One cannot achieve much in a verbal struggle against nationalism. We need to have true understanding and sympathy for equality, togetherness and the rights and aspirations of individuals and national communities.

Every member of a nation or nationality, in this case the Albanian nationality, which is the most numerous in Kosovo, is responsible for what is done in his name. Nationalism may be the work of adventurers or the enemy. The true representatives of a nation, the communists and all progressive people, can in no way stand aside from, underestimate or tacitly accept an alliance with nationalism. Everyone should ask himself the following question: Did I, perhaps through my activity or by refraining from activity, contribute to the creation of such a bad situation? It is easy to recognize nationalism, but people often keep quiet about it. This was the case in Kosovo. Before they became its victims, many well-intentioned people even League of Communists members and members of the leaderships, turned a blind eye to nationalism, dismissed its sins and in this way legalized it.

It is noticeable that anti-Yugoslav propaganda from abroad constantly insists on the contradictions and conflicts between Albanians and Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Croats and others. A technique of disinformation and infiltration has been worked out in detail, and agents and terrorists attack our workers abroad and their clubs, blackmailing them, even trying to assassinate officials of our diplomatic representative offices.

It is not possible to negotiate in the normal democratic way with an opponent who is sworn to breaking Yugoslavia up. Our country would not be what it is if we had given in to any kind of force, threats or pressure. Yielding to nationalism and irredentism would lead to the deformation of relations and conflict between our nations and nationalities, bringing into question the territorial integrity and completeness of our country.

Only nationalists can ascribe to the Albanian nationality as a whole responsibility for the counterrevolutionary activities in Kosovo and bring into question its attitude toward Yugoslavia. In the decades of joint life in Kosovo in the context of Serbia and Yugoslavia great experience was gained, as well as consciousness about the danger represented by nationalism in a multinational environment. All the nations and nationalities have suffered from it. Therefore, it is essential to settle scores with all forms of nationalism, wherever it appears, and this is also a condition for resolving the situation in Kosovo.

This time the League of Communists faces historic (?tasks) in conflict with an organized and persistent enemy which must be overcome by resolute activity and organized political work, and reliance on the broadest masses of working people and citizens.

The Kosovo League of Communists will continue to be the main direct exponent of the everyday struggle and of work in Kosovo aimed at continued socialist development and progress in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the context of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. The LCY, the Serbia League of Communists and all socialist forces in our country will offer strong support and help to the League of Communists, to all socialist forces and all working people in Kosovo in the struggle to carry out the standpoints, principles and aims contained in this platform.

In fighting resolutely and consistently against nationalism and bureaucratism in their own environment, as well as for brotherhood and unity, equality, socialist self-management and togetherness, and accepting its own part of the responsibility for the social and material development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the LCY, and the Leagues of Communists in all the republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina will be most effective in aiding the realization of this platform in Kosovo and in the SFRY as a whole.

MORE ON CULAFIC REPORT TO LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AU201046 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 81 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report on introductory speech by Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at 22d Session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 17 November; the last part of Culafic's report was published from Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service beginning on p I 1 of the 18 November Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT; the following material covers the beginning part of the speech, which was not monitored from TANJUG]

[Excerpt] On the basis of a thorough examination and analysis of the causes of the past developments in Kosovo, the political and other measures taken so far and the results of

these measures, and proceeding from the need to develop a long-term ideopolitical and social action program of the League of Communists and other elements of our system, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has prepared, on the basis of the conclusions of the 20th Session of the LCY Central Committee, in close cooperation with the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, a draft political platform of the LCY for the activity of the organized socialist forces on further strengthening and developing self-management, brotherhood and unity in Kosovo.

In mid-June the Presidium formed a working group to draft the platform and as early as on 9 July it discussed the first version of the platform. The LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the draft platform in September and October, and the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Serbia and the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo discussed it, too.

Following the 20th Session of the LCY Central Committee, there has been wide-ranging ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists and of all organized socialist forces in the Leagues of Communists of Serbia and Kosovo, as well as in all Leagues of Communists of the republics and the Province of Vojvodina, with the aim of ensuring the unity of ideopolitical activity throughout the LCY, strengthening socialist self-management and democratic relations in Kosovo, strengthening brotherhood and unity, drawing the necessary lessons from those developments and extending support and assistance to the League of Communists of Kosovo. At its session on 23 May 1981 the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo adopted the action program. On the basis of this program, all basic organizations and all organs of the League of Communists of Kosovo adopted their specific immediate tasks. A broad struggle to improve the political-security situation in Kosovo has developed, the process of ideopolitical differentiation began and the activity on urgent tasks of economic stabilization has been renewed.

The activity connected with the counterrevolutionary events and the normalization of the situation in Kosovo in the League of Communists of Serbia and in all organs and organizations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia is continuous and intensive. An analysis of the causes of the counterrevolution and its long smoldering was carried out at numerous sessions of the organs and organizations of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Directions and programs of the immediate activity and long-term improvement of the situation in Kosovo, the development of self-management, a more rapid and realistic socioeconomic development, a restoration of confidence among nationalities, brotherhood and unity, the struggle against the appearance of Serbian nationalist revanchism, further work on strengthening the unity in the League of Communists of Serbia, the unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia were adopted. All this activity has to continue in view of the fact that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the League of Communists of Kosovo are component parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the League of Communists of Serbia.

The counterrevolutionary developments in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have deeper social causes. These causes are also dealt with in the platform. However, certain of the most important causes can be found in an erroneous policy that was pursued in the province in the vital sectors of social, economic and cultural life, in understanding and implementing our federalism, particularly in intranational relations. In Kosovo's socioeconomic development a manner and method of work strengthened which made it possible for decisions on great economic problems to be made in narrow groups and leaderships. This practice influenced the development of self-managing relations and self-managing decision-making, it limited the influence of associated labor, it seriously checked the economic criteria of operations and all this also led to mistakes in the investment policy and objectively enabled the spread of bureaucratic-statist relations.

The analysis of Kosovo's economic development indicates that the resources of the FNP [acronym unknown, presumably indicating fund for development of underdeveloped regions] were frequently invested in building huge capital-intensive economic projects, instead of mostly being invested in labor-intensive economic projects which would employ the working force more quickly and which would relatively more rapidly increase income. Likewise, a large part of the additional funds for financing social activities was directed at constructing expensive representative projects of the so-called "national importance". Despite the great assistance that was extended to Kosovo, a number of the then most responsible men in the Kosovo leadership constantly expressed the thesis that the province was given little. And this, among other things, influenced the fact that a false picture of Kosovo was not given its due and this false picture increasingly more became some kind of public opinion. In that, nationalism and irredentism found a source for their activity.

In parallel with this, or precisely in this connection, the links with other parts of the republic whose component part Kosovo is and with other our republics have weakened. Instead of this orientation, nationalism only stressed demands so as to gain step by step those rights which, according to the constitution, the province has not got and cannot have. Thus, autonomy developed into an independent statism, instead of seeking independence through the development of self-management and self-managing linkage in the province, Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Natural aspirations for an economic, social and cultural development, a justifiable search for assistance and support for development from the developed republics and the Province of Vojvodina, the achieved level of autonomy, that is, self-managing independence, have to be supported by a strict equality and full security of all citizens of the province, a strengthening of links with other areas of Serbia and Yugoslavia, by a comprehensive rapprochement and linkage with other peoples and nationalities over the wider areas of the republic and Yugoslavia.

Instead of this, one passed silently over the slogan "Kosovo-Republic," a slogan that is not from yesterday and one that was not born in the heads of young people but in the heads of nationalists, bureaucratic leaderships and a part of the cultural "elite" linked with them and which made compromises with nationalism. And now one can see from Enver Hoxha's speech at the recent AWP congress that this slogan is in fact Hoxha's slogan, calculated to create the irredentist goal of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo seceding from the SFRY, while the unmasking of this slogan from clear ideopolitical positions set forth in the draft platform is one of the most important tasks of the leading socialist forces in Kosovo's politics, science and culture. We have still not ideopolitically settled accounts with this slogan sufficiently resolutely and clearly. For the LCY there is no difference between the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" within Yugoslavia and the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" outside Yugoslavia.

Schools, particularly the university, the cultural and information institutions were exposed in many points of their activity to the pressure and influence of this policy. Under this influence, along with a lack of vigilance on the part of the League of Communists, many educational and cultural substances were uncritically taken over from Albania, together with all the baggage of Stalinist and nationalist interpretations of national culture, historiography and ideology. For years, textbooks from Albania were uncritically accepted, and that has created the conditions for linking parts of the younger generation with the nationalist substance of modern culture in Albania, or rather with the nationalist and irredentist attitude of Albania's leaders toward Kosovo and its deliberate plan to indoctrinate the young people in Kosovo. In the light of these facts it is not difficult to interpret the nationalist fervor of young people and their view that their homeland is not Yugoslavia but Albania.

In the counterrevolutionary developments in Kosovo, we clashed, in fact, on the one hand, with the irredentist activity linked with everyone possible, ranging from Zogu to Enver Hoxha, using the most reactionary chauvinist slogans and most brutal destructive means.

The security organs are successfully detecting the network and channels of this illegal organization and are waging a struggle against it.

On the other hand, we have clashed also with the technobureaucratic and statist forces which, by their logic, are inspired by national romanticism and which plotted with nationalist forces. These forces tried to lull the League of Communists, to blind the workers class and thus they objectively served the nationalist and irredentist forces.

The AWP leadership, for well-known domestic reasons, interfered and encouraged all this.

The judiciary organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have begun with a resolute prosecution and punishment of all members of the detected illegal groups and they identified most active participants in the counterrevolutionary demonstrations and in other kinds of counterconstitutional activity.

From the beginning one has proceeded from the fact that the judiciary organs must ensure full legality in work, a correct application of the criminal code at all levels of legal proceedings and such a penal policy as will be in accordance with the social danger of criminal deeds and their perpetrators in a given situation.

The perception of the deeper social causes of the counterrevolutionary developments in Kosovo unavoidably calls for not only clear and unambiguous criticism of the past policy and its consequences, but also for developing a clear political line on the most important problems of development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, particularly regarding the further and more rapid strengthening of associated labor and socialist self-management, strengthening the LCY, the concept of socioeconomic development, regarding the development of education, cultural institutions, regarding relations with Albania and so forth. The well-argued, specific and clear criticism of the policy pursued in the province thus far on a number of issues must be and is one of the basic elements and conditions of the overall struggle and activity of the League of Communists and other socialist forces.

The absence of such criticism and inconsistency in the disassociation from the past practice in a situation in which a revolutionary responsibility and revolutionary action is necessary can have great negative consequences. This means that the political differentiation must be resolutely pursued, primarily along the line of deciding in favor of socialist self-management and for our Yugoslav socialist togetherness. This must also mean a resolute clearing with the phenomena and proponents of bureaucracy, technocracy and petit bourgeois liberalism in all circles. In this situation and because of all this the League of Communists must turn in the most responsible manner to the problems of cadre policy in general, particularly in the public information media and the cultural, scientific and educational institutions.

The state of emergency in Kosovo which lasted until 1 July 1981 has been lifted. The situation in Kosovo is improving, all forms of political life are developing. The cultural and public life in the province is being normalized. Sports events with mass attendance of young people and citizens are being held. Young people have participated in large numbers in labor drives. The activity of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation is becoming more organized. The same goes for the activity of the Trade Union Federation and the Socialist Alliance. The Federation of Veterans has been playing a significant political role from the very first day of the enemy's activity. Lately, labor drives, both local and involving wider areas, in which young people, pensioners, militia and members of the Yugoslav People's Army participate, are being successfully carried out. It is important to stress that the school-year began on time and that lessons for over 45,000 students are being regularly held. All this is the result of the broad activity of the League of Communists and all sociopolitical forces, primarily of Kosovo, Serbia and our entire country.

The League of Communists of Kosovo is embarking more boldly and with a greater success on an open struggle against Albanian nationalism, irredentism and other forms of hostile activity.

The situation is also improving in the sphere of social self-protection. Certain positive tendencies have been noticed in the economic development. After a long time, an increase, considerably above the Yugoslav average, has been again achieved in industrial production. However, other qualitative factors of the economy continue to be bad. This year, employment has increased at a rate of 5.6 percent but the number of those who are waiting for employment continues to grow.

The appraisals of the past activity and situation in Kosovo show that not as much has been accomplished among workers as should have and could have been achieved. A considerably greater and more specific sociopolitical activity of trade union organs and organizations was needed, in addition to the activity of the League of Communists. The situation is particularly serious and sensitive among construction workers. The losses are the highest and the organization is the worst in the construction industry; large numbers of workers are unskilled and have low incomes and the cost of living is increasing more quickly than their earnings. The problem of raw materials and producer goods is constantly evident in many other economic activities.

Considered as a whole and despite the positive trends, it can be said that the enemy in Kosovo is not resting and continues to be active in an organized manner although at this time he is acting more perfidiously and primarily in the psychological propaganda field. There are still quite numerous and daily occurrences of showing hostile slogans, distribution of leaflets and pamphlets, writing threatening and anonymous letters, attempts to frighten, intranational hatred, disturbing public order and peace and so forth. Rather widely spread phenomena of carelessness, violations of and lack of respect for laws and regulations and the like contribute to these occurrences. And in connection with all this it is evident that the hostile activity is fanned from abroad.

The problems of schools and education in Kosovo are immediate and of a long-term nature. For years, large numbers of young people were trained in schools for the professions in which employment is the most difficult to find. What is positive are the facts that a process has begun changing the orientation of students to economic professions, that the number of newly registered students for social sciences is now diminishing and that appropriate measures have been taken to further improve the student standard of living. There is still the problem of textbooks and especially the problem of replacing the textbooks that were imported from Albania and were used with some editing but mostly without it. It is necessary to accelerate the preparation of the necessary textbooks through cooperation between the educational organs in Kosovo and similar organs in other parts of the country and no effort must be spared to accelerate the process of coordinating the school network and the admission conditions with the current and long-term needs of associated labor.

KALEZIC DENIES JAMMING OF ALBANIAN BROADCASTS

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[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG) -- A spokesman for the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Affairs today called arbitrary radio Tirana's claims that Albanian radio-tv broadcasts on the territory of Albania are being jammed from the territory of Yugoslavia.

The official spokesman, Mirko Kalezic, told a press conference today that Albania has for years been hindering the reception of Yugoslavia radio-tv broadcasts in Albania.